EARLY MUSIC

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EARLY MUSIC

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1478
1978

Front cover: English singers as depicted in a late 15th-century manuscript, Cambridge MS Dd 8.18 f.129v. Reproduced by permission of the Syndics of Cambridge University Library. We are most grateful to Dr Mary Remnant for drawing our attention to this and other contemporary material reproduced in this issue.

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Choral music: the earliest early music

As Bruno Turner says in his lively interview, early choral music has never ceased. Up and down Britain choirs have never stopped singing, and this inheritance, this tradition, has been transmitted to America and to the Commonwealth. Choral foundations form a unique part of British music, unparalleled throughout Europe. This does not mean, however, that they should not be susceptible to change, to fresh influences such as the stylistic challenges of the Continent, or to the more discerning attitudes towards timbre and pitch, for instance, revealed in the work of scholars and performers of the last decade.

It might be considered negligent that the journal has waited until now to present a choral issue, that it has so far had only one article exclusively on the voice—by Andrea von Ramm (*EM* 4/1). Agreed! But the whole tide of developments over the past few years has tended to concentrate on the completely unknowns, the rediscovering of instrumental usage and techniques, on repertoire. Now this pattern is falling into place; the first frantic rush is over.

The early music conference in London last May showed how much still awaited discussion in the realms of choral and vocal music and the enthusiasm of a young choral director, Peter Phillips, who has imaginatively helped plan this issue, speeded the process. We have tried to present a representative example of the kind of work being carried on at present, of the problems still occupying intelligent, musicianly minds, of the scope of the enterprise.

Howard Mayer Brown's introductory article reiterates his plea for the performance of the great vocal works of the Renaissance, a plea which happily has already found a response in London to judge by the enterprising, accomplished explorations of last winter. A new breed of young, scholarly choral directors has arisen, building on the work of the pioneers, and challenging the assumptions that lie behind the stuccoed exteriors of some of our established choirs. Denis Arnold recommends performers and gramophone companies to the 'shamefully neglected' works of Orlandus Lassus in his study of the grand polychoral motets. Andrew Parrott, whose distinctive direction of the Monteverdi *Vespers* and the Machaut Mass graced London's 1977 musical life, explores the ways in which instruments were used in pre-civil war English church music. Peter Phillips brings his experience with the Tallis Scholars to bear on performing 16th-century English choral music and there are echoes of this in his talk with Bruno Turner. Michael Morrow makes a welcome reappearance with his astringent autopsy of performance and authenticity, and appropriately, in the *Early writings on music* series, there is Joseph Dyer's translation of Conrad von Zabern's 'Singing with proper refinement', the first manual devoted to practical singing techniques, written for members of a monastic choir singing liturgical chant.

Inevitably, valuable material by Nicholas Anderson, John Morehen and Anthony Ransome has had to be held over, and some areas, such as the baroque, have hardly been touched. *Early Music* could be twice its size, but the harsh realities of economics forbid such a course. Henceforth choral and vocal music will regularly be found on the contents page—cues for the kind of articles needed may well come from Roger Bray's new column

'Performers' guide', which we hope will grow into a stimulating exchange of views. The next 'neglected' topic we shall tackle has, like choral music, never died—it is the foundation of a musical culture, the backbone of British musical journalism and the despair of those outside its coterie—it is the organ.

J. M. THOMSON

The future of early music in Britain

We are very disappointed that unforeseen problems have delayed publication but every effort is being made to send copies to subscribers now. The publication price is £2 (US $5.50).

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This was a costly enterprise embarked on in response to demand from our friends and supporters but they are not buying it—the continuance of the Register depends on the support it receives. If each member were to buy a copy we would just cover the initial cost of setting it up on the computer. Please do support the Register, if you wish it to continue, and fill in the order form enclosed in this issue—not to be confused with the card for registration which involves no payment.

Three angels singing Henry VIII's Psalter (British Library MS 2A xvi f.118). Reproduced by courtesy of The Trustees of the British Museum

CHORAL MUSIC IN THE RENAISSANCE

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

Instrumental music did not equal vocal music in importance until the 17th century. While it is true that a sizeable amount of music conceived for instruments alone survives from the 16th century—and some of it is of a very high quality—most of the music composed during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance was connected with a text, and most of the biggest and many of the best 15th- and early 16th-century compositions—at least most of the polyphony set to Latin words—were probably performed more often then by voices alone than by voices and instruments or by instruments alone. In short, music for unaccompanied voices forms the central repertory of sacred music in the Renaissance. That statement is surely a truism. There are doubtless good reasons why so many of our professional early music groups place more emphasis on instruments than on voices, but we ought always to be aware of the fact that early music means vocal music in the first place, a point I have made repeatedly in this journal and elsewhere, but which nevertheless seems appropriate to state once again in introducing this choral issue of *Early Music*.

Vocal music is not necessarily choral music, though. The history of the choir has not yet been written. Presumably the first choirs in medieval western Europe were made up of clerics who sang plainchant. Polyphony was the province of the more musically adept soloists. Manfred Bukofzer, in his study of the performance directions in one manuscript, dated the beginnings of choral polyphony about 1430.[1] No one to my knowledge has yet challenged his conclusion, and archival evidence seems to bear out his contention (at least until new evidence produces new conclusions). Frank D'Accone, for example, who has recently written one of the few studies that attempts to pull together information from a variety of sources to illuminate an historical trend with regard to performance practice, has very neatly demonstrated the growth in the size of choral establishments in some northern Italian churches in the late 15th century.[2] But to state baldly that polyphonic choirs did not exist before the 15th century (as I seem to be doing) is to imply that a rigid and clear-cut distinction should be made between groups of singers and a choir, distinctions that are patently artificial.

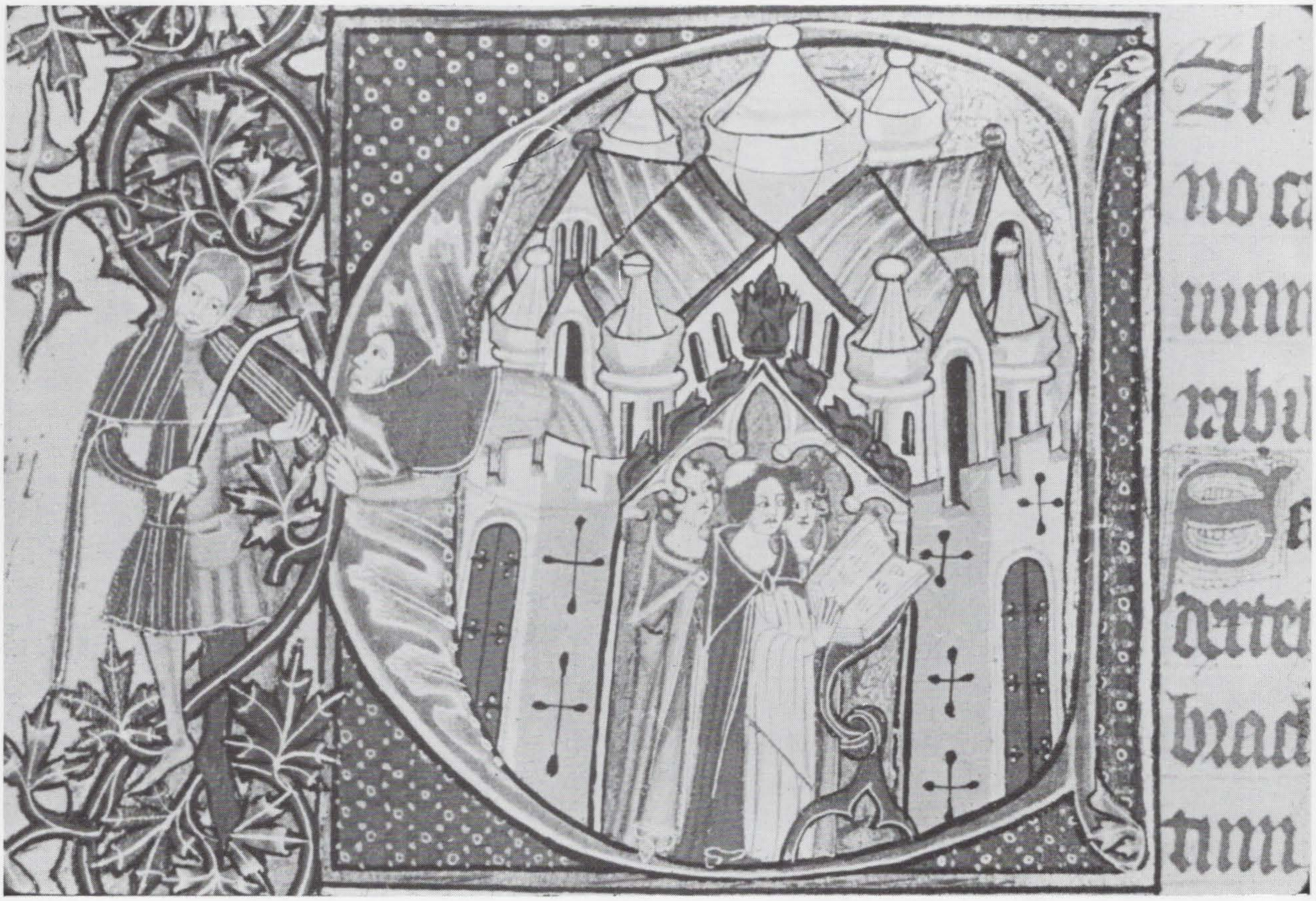
D'Accone shows that 'choirs' (or do I mean groups of singers?) in northern Italian churches grew from about six men in the earlier part of the 15th century to about 20 men late in the century, plus an unspecified number of choirboys. Someone needs to demonstrate that the same process of growth occurred in other European countries as well, and in fact enough archival records have already been published to permit some tentative conclusions on the subject. I shall certainly not be surprised when D'Accone's figures turn out to be typical for the rest of Europe, and in the meantime they provide a valuable rule of thumb for performers. So far as we know now, in other words, Léonin's and Pérotin's organa and clausula—virtuoso pieces that ought from time to time to appear in our concert programmes—as well as late 14th-century continental music, should be sung by soloists or by very small groups of singers. Ideally, Dufay's Masses require no more than about ten men and boys, while Josquin's and also Palestrina's and Lassus' were probably normally performed in the 16th century by choirs of 20-25 singers. Those conclusions seem to be justified by documentary evidence, and moreover they feel right. Dufay's ornate melodic lines need the flexibility and 'give' that soloists can provide, while Josquin's music as well as that by later renaissance composers, in which each of the four or five voices seems to be equally important and equally well conceived in relation to the words, and the melodies generally less fussy than those by early 15th-century composers, can use the greater weight bigger choirs provide.

But if choral groups begin to seek to duplicate original performing conditions in the belief that the true character of the music only reveals itself when the sound is close to what the composer imagined, they will find their task even more difficult and frustrating than that of those instrumentalists who are very much involved in reconstructing old, lost sounds. Even if the choirmaster should assemble a group of the correct size, with an 'authentic' distribution of voice parts, and even though he take to heart the conclusions of Peter Phillips in this issue of *Early Music* about pitch, and even after he has rationalized the lack of castrati and the difficulty, in most countries except Britain, of finding choirboys (for, ultimately, arranging sacred music of the Renaissance for mixed choirs is a fatal compromise), there still remains the well-nigh insoluble problem of discovering or imagining how singers in the 15th and 16th centuries actually produced their voices. Singers are at a great disadvantage in trying to recover lost techniques. They are restricted to descriptions of singers and of singing, whereas instrumentalists at least have the physical objects to hand, with their built-in clues and limitations. But today we might not agree that a voice described as sweet-sounding in the 16th century would correspond in any way with what we think is sweet; surely it is even difficult to get two people to agree on an appropriate adjective to describe the voice of any given living singer. Quite aside from the subjectivity of mere descriptions, though, there is the additional difficulty of trying to corroborate our guesses about what the old writers mean. In the absence of time machines, we can never be certain we are correct. Even when writers seem to be saying something quite specific, they are not always unambiguous. For example, Joseph Dyer, in this issue of *Early Music*, interprets Conrad von Zabern's remarks about dynamics and voice range to mean that the registers of the voice should all be distinct and separate, loud in the chest register and soft

Three singers and a bagpipe player. An English psalter, after 1320. (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.22 f.113v. Reproduced by permission)

in the head register. Is it possible, though, that Conrad was merely describing the falsetto voice rather clumsily? Perhaps he only meant to explain that singers should not use their full voices at the top of their range because it would be too loud; instead, they should use falsetto, which is sweeter and less obtrusive.

And how should we interpret Nanie Bridgman's suggestive report of a 15th-century Italian singer who excused himself because he could not for the moment use his 'voce da camera', his chamber voice?[3] He had sung in church and for his students for a long time without stopping, and therefore he needed to rest before he could begin to perform chamber music again. How valid is his implied distinction between church and chamber singing styles? And does this one isolated incident justify us in supposing that Italian sacred music was sung in the Renaissance in a manner closer to the Musica Reservata holler than to the English cathedral hoot? Certainly many choirs in the world today cultivate sounds derived from their own local histories. German choirs seem to have grown from the 19th-century tradition of singing academies and associations of amateurs, Italian groups from opera choruses, and American groups either from college glee clubs (which is why they sometimes call to my mind memories of football games in the autumn) or from the German or Scandinavian singing societies that sprang up in many American cities during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In recent decades many choirs which specialize in renaissance



Cloistered singers; an illuminated letterhead from a 14th-century manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Liturg. 198 f.91v. Reproduced by permission)

An early English choir portrayed in a 14th-century woodcut

music seem to be developing a rather light sound, produced far forward in the mask and with little or no vibrato. That sort of sound produces to my ears the best results—a clear texture in which all of the polyphonic strands are clearly audible—but the justifications for such a solution are empirical rather than historical.

One of the knottiest problems of performing choral music from the Renaissance concerns the question of adding instruments. When are we justified in mixing cornetts and sackbuts with voices? How 'authentic' are those recordings that present a colourful mélange of soft and loud instruments doubling the singers in some passages and replacing them in others? The last word has by no means been spoken on the subject, although a growing consensus rejects the notion that any instruments except the organ normally accompanied choirs in liturgical music before the 16th century. D'Accone finds no evidence of instrumental participation in northern Italian churches in the late 15th or early 16th centuries. James McKinnon has searched without success for documentary evidence of instruments in earlier liturgical ceremonies. And Craig Wright has recently reminded us that some important establishments in the Renaissance, such as the Cathedral in Cambrai (as well as the Sistine Chapel in Rome), did not even allow organ music to disturb the *a cappella* ideal.[4] Perhaps court chapels would tell a different story. No one to my knowledge has yet investigated the possibility that princes permitted their instrumental ensembles to take part in church services earlier than the church authorities did. And no scholar has yet systematically surveyed the available information to discover when instruments were admitted to the church. Certainly by the middle of the 16th century many Italian churches regularly hired bands of wind players and the practice may go back to the beginning of the century in some countries and for certain special occasions. I myself think that many professional early music groups are too optimistic in mixing instruments with voices in their performances of sacred music, probably in the fear that modern concert audiences will find

the 'authentic' versions too austere. But that austerity was probably mitigated in some circumstances even in the 15th century. Trumpets may have played in church sometimes, but possibly only to add a fanfare or two at coronations and other very splendid occasions. I have recently shown that soft instruments sometimes accompanied processions outside the church, through the city streets, in northern Italy in the late 15th century.[5] And someone needs to integrate the well-known description of the consecration of the cathedral of Florence in 1436 into the theory that instruments were never played in church before the 16th century. On that occasion strings and winds played both during the procession and at the elevation of the host.

The assumption we all make that choruses sang sacred music and groups of solo singers, one to a part, madrigals, chansons, lieder and other secular music, is probably a usable generalization, although stated so baldly it is doubtless over simple. Madrigalesque compositions were very likely sung in 16th-century Italy, for example, by relatively large groups (that is, by choirs), at civic and courtly ceremonies, during the intermedii staged between acts of plays, and at unusually sumptuous banquets. And in smaller courts and churches, and perhaps during the duller bits of the ecclesiastical year sacred music may well have been sung by a handful of musicians even in important centres. Those exceptions beg the question, of course, of what is ideal and of how we should best serve the composer's intentions, and yet performance conditions varied as much then as now, and we should perhaps tolerate and even encourage experimentation and diversity. John Eliot Gardner's performances of Monteverdi's madrigals with large choir, for instance, may not be 'authentic' but his choir projects this music, almost certainly intended for soloists, beautifully, and it gains in sureness and force what it loses in flexibility and nuance in Gardner's readings. As with almost everything having to do with the performing conventions of past times, we must steer a narrow course between a complete and mindless permissiveness and a holier-than-thou purism that makes new dogmas and pretends to know more than it actually does. We would all like to be provided with a set of rules that can be mechanically followed, so that we can be certain that we are either right or wrong. But real life, including the real life of the later Middle Ages and the Renaissance that we are trying to reconstruct, seldom works that way. There are those, I daresay, who would claim that French secular music in early 16th-century Italy was never sung but always played on instruments, because the manuscript sources seldom supply text, and those who would claim that madrigals must never under any circumstances be sung by a choir, but the truth was probably more complicated and more diverse. Certainly when we compare the surviving music of the 16th century with eye-witness accounts of how it was actually performed on particular occasions, we almost always see that the versions that have come down to us in printed books and manuscripts were disseminated in a manner to make the performers' job easier. Compositions were published in a more or less 'neutral' version, the best way to convey the sense of the music and at the same time allow the performing musicians freedom to arrange them in the ways they thought best.

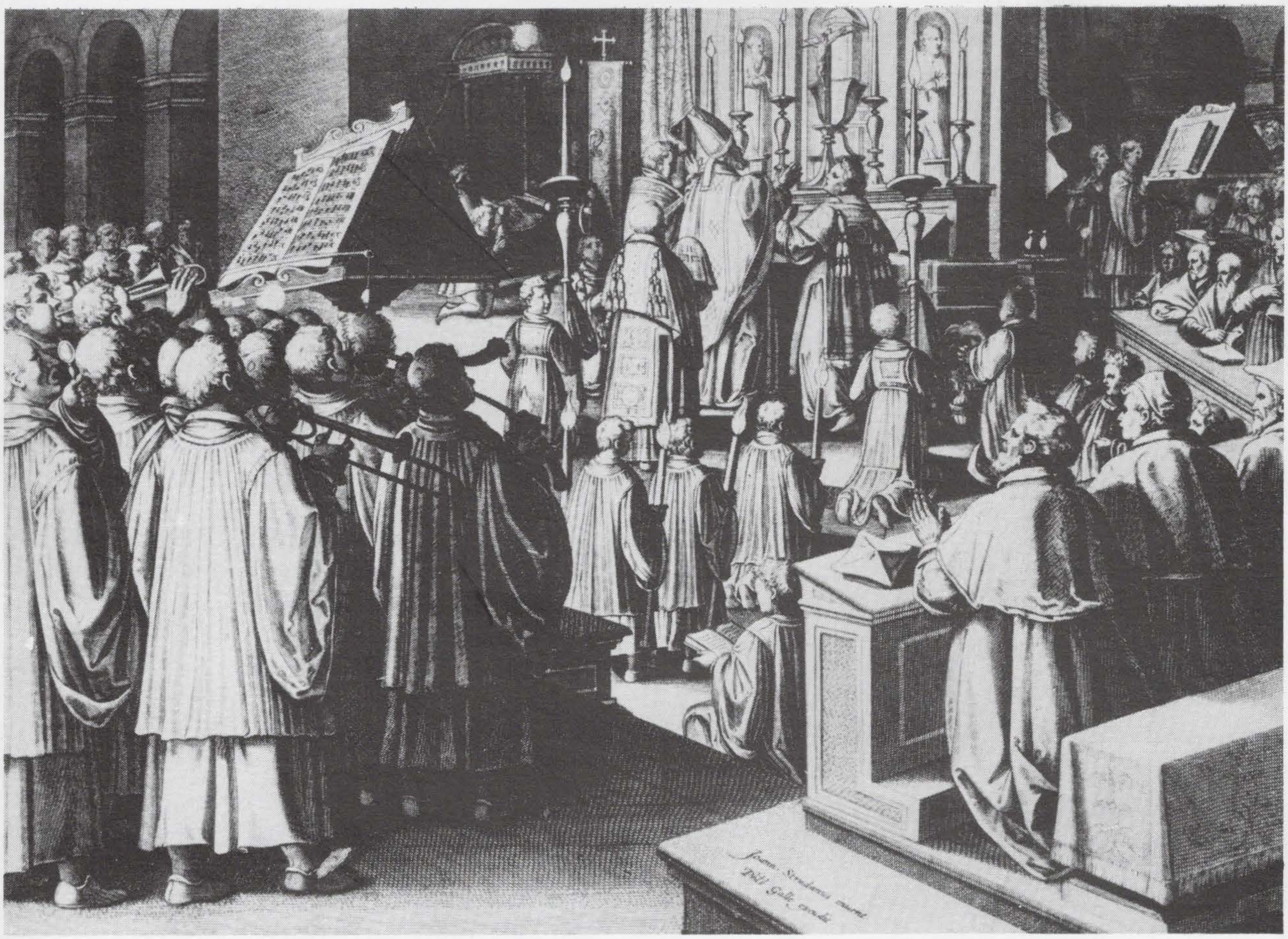
In sum, there are still many things we need to know about choirs in the Renaissance and how they sounded, before we can claim with any

[1] Manfred F. Bukofzer, 'The Beginnings of Choral Polyphony', *Studies in Medieval & Renaissance Music* (London, 1950), pp. 176-89.
[2] Frank A. D'Accone, 'The performance of sacred music in Italy during Josquin's time, *c* 1475-1525', in *Josquin des Prez*, ed. Edward E. Lowinsky (London, 1976), pp. 601-18.
[3] Nanie Bridgman, *La vie musicale au quattrocento* (Paris, 1964), p. 197.
[4] D'Accone, 'Performance of sacred music'; James McKinnon, 'Representations of the Mass in Medieval and Renaissance Art' (to be published); and Craig Wright, 'Dufay at Cambrai: Discoveries and Revisions', *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 28 (1975), 175-229.
[5] H. M. Brown, 'On Gentile Bellini's *Processione in San Marco* (1496)', *Proceedings of the Twelfth Congress of the International Musicological Society, Berkeley, California, August 1977* (to be published). See also illustrations to H. M. Brown's article on music in the time of Boccaccio, *Early Music* 5/3 (July 1977), pp. 332, 333, 339.

In an article on the *pifferi* of the court of Mantua, which will appear in a forthcoming issue of *Rivista Italiana di Musicologia*, William Prizer describes three occasions between 1475 and 1495 when the *alta cappella* performed during Mass, once on military campaign and twice for noble weddings. None of the sources describing the events unequivocally states that the loud band accompanied singers, but they do make clear that the band played during the liturgical service. I am grateful to Mr Prizer for letting me read his article before publication.

assurance that we can judge the authenticity of a performance. How big were choirs at any particular time and place? How many singers in each voice range participated? How did they produce their sound? Which pieces should be reserved for choirs and which for smaller groups of soloists? How many instruments can one add to a choir and what kinds should they be? If we could give convincing answers to these and other questions, we still could not claim that we know the greatest masterpieces of the 15th and 16th centuries until they become a regular part of the concert repertory in our present-day secular society. I have never understood why some musicians object to hearing renaissance masses in modern concert halls. They seem to me no more objectionable or out of place there than renaissance madrigals or chansons. And yet, how many masses and motets by Dufay, Ockeghem, Josquin des Prez, Lassus, Victoria, Palestrina or Byrd are performed each year in Alice Tully Hall in New York, or at the South Bank in London? Until the time comes when those works take their rightful place in the concert hall beside Susato and Praetorius dances and other quaint novelties on curious sounding instruments, we shall all have a distorted notion of the scope and dimension of early music.

Celebration of Mass with full choral accompaniment 1595. Engraving by Adrian Collaert after a drawing by Johannes Stradarus. (Staatliches Institut für Musikforschung, Berlin)



THE GRAND MOTETS OF ORLANDUS LASSUS

DENIS ARNOLD

Of all the great 16th-century masters, Orlandus Lassus is the most shamefully neglected. If the current gramophone catalogue is a guide, the state of common knowledge of his music is dismal, with only a handful of his works available for exploration in sound; Palestrina is in much better and Victoria in just as good supply, while Byrd fares best of all. Yet some would claim that of these four acknowledged geniuses, he is the greatest: he is certainly the most interesting (though English chauvinists can claim Byrd as a close runner-up). In fact, it is the difficulty of his claim to chauvinist support that helps to account for his neglect. A Netherlander, he spent little time in the Low Countries after his boyhood kidnapping which took him to Italy. An Italian by training, he moved to Munich almost before he had had time to establish himself in Rome. But, although he lived in Munich until his death, made an indelible mark on the development of German music, and has been the subject of major studies by German musicologists, it is hard to give him that nationality. Like Handel, he fits into no mould.

The other factor which is involved in causing the neglect is simply the vastness of his collected oeuvre. He wrote almost every kind of music. He was a serious madrigalist; an even more astonishing purveyor of bawdy villanellas and the like; no mean writer of French chansons and German polyphonic lieder; and above all, a genius in the sphere of church music. 'The sphere of church music' suggests perhaps a unified style and environment. This is not true. The astonishing feature of his religious music is its huge variety. There are motets which seem to fit into the 16th-century tradition as commonly understood from Palestrina and others; but there are many statements of personal belief which can only be related to the *musica reservata* for which Munich was famous; and there was court music *alla Veneziana* (as it seems in retrospect). It is this music which has recently been acclaimed as the result of a gramophone record (the *Mass Bell'Amfitrit* and a number of double choir motets are performed by the choir of Christ Church, Oxford, conducted by Simon Preston), and which obviously merits some detailed investigation.

Orlandus Lassus c 1532-94. (By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

ORLANDVS LASSVS
D. BAVAR. MVSICVS
Quantum exit melica reliquos Orlandus in arte
Etheriis propior tantum abit ille choris.

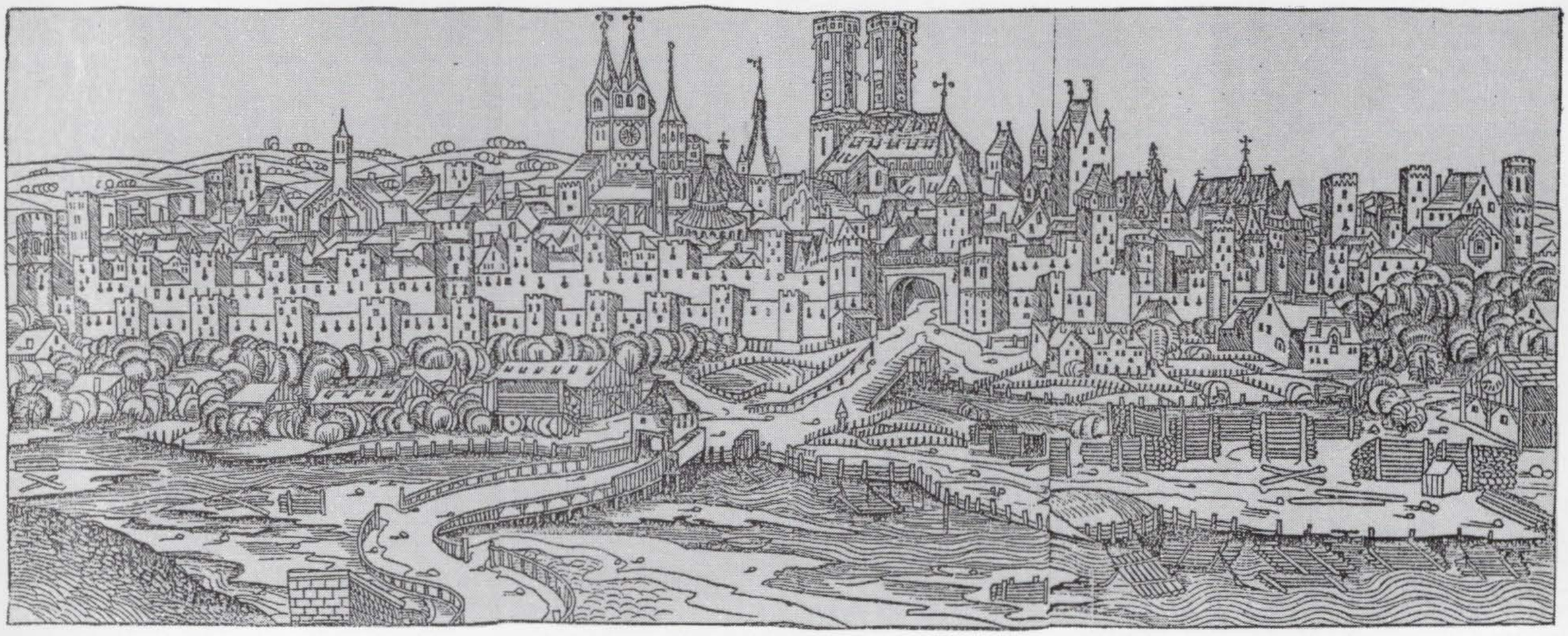
Venice and the grand manner of the polychoral motet seem so inseparable that it is hard to consider them apart. The links are real enough. If, as Giovanni d'Alessi showed,[1] it is true that there was music for double choir before Willaert's famous and epochmaking publication *I salmi appertinenti alli vesperi . . . a duoi chori* appeared in 1550, the known antecedents came from the Veneto, notably from Treviso, only eighteen miles away and a well-established part of *Venezia terra ferma*, as the political dominions of Venice on the mainland were called. And the most famous practitioners of the technique were undoubtedly the musicians of S. Marco: the two Gabrielis, Claudio Merulo, Giovanni Croce and Giovanni

Bassano. But here begin the puzzles. Much of the younger Gabrieli's grander music was dedicated to Germans or is preserved in manuscripts which suggest that it was composed for transalpine courts. Even more puzzling is the fact that it was not until 1587, when Giovanni Gabrieli assembled and published his uncle's *Concerti*, that the spate of printed music of this kind began. Admittedly the *Concerti* is a retrospective collection reflecting Andrea Gabrieli's work over twenty years in the service of the basilica; but why was there so large a gap between Willaert's psalms and the taking up of polychoral writing by the Venetians? And how and where was this tradition preserved, if not in Venice?

Polychoral music was certainly known in Rome where both Palestrina and Victoria published various essays in the 1570s. An even greater cache lies in the collected works of Orlandus Lassus, whose posthumously published *Magnum opus musicum* of 1604 contains a substantial number of pieces. Moreover, his colleagues and associates also made a considerable contribution, as a survey of both printed and manuscript material surviving in the Munich Staatsbibliothek reveals.[2] Indeed, the extent to which the technique was practised in the period between Willaert's publication and the later flowering of the Venetians is quite astonishing. The 1560s saw two massive publications of such works. The first, the *Thesaurus musicus* of Montanus and Neuber, came out in 1564, significantly in Nuremberg which was then becoming a major centre of music-printing. The second, a continuation of this anthology as its title *Novus thesaurus musicus* indicates, was in fact published by that ever enterprising Gardano in Venice in 1568; but the contents reflect activity north of the Alps. Manuscripts confirm this impression of a widespread vogue. The earlier ones to contain polychoral music[3] show the scribes of the Hofkapelle seeking out music from Vienna and France as well as locally. The ones later acquired by the Hofkapelle, of which the most important is the ample collection now numbered Musik Mss 1536,[4] appear to have been copied by monks in several religious houses in Bavaria.

These sources suggest, as might be expected, that it was the larger court establishments which found most use for the polychoral concept. As Albert Dunning's thorough study *Die Staatsmotette* (Utrecht, 1970) shows, the idea of a 'homage motet' in praise of a prince or an occasion was widely, if

A woodcut of Munich at the turn of the 15th century



Maximilian II, crowned German King 1562 and Holy Roman Emperor 1564. The town pictured at the foot of the engraving is Munich. (By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

sporadically, practised in the early 16th century and this was sometimes cast for double choir. But it seems to have been more consistently used at the court of Maximilian II in the period after 1560, first perhaps in Prague then in Vienna when the king became Holy Roman Emperor. His Kapellmeister was the Netherlander Jacobus Vaet, who wrote a number of large-scale pieces.[6] These, with one exception, are not true polychoral music works, rather using eight voices in a quasi-contrapuntal way; nevertheless they show Vaet's interest in varying the sonorities by different groupings of voices and, doubtless, instruments. It is significant that the one work for double choir is a setting of the *Te Deum* which may have been written for the ceremonial entry of Maximilian into Vienna in 1563, an early example of the association of two-choir technique with the grand occasion. Vaet's predecessor at Vienna, Joannes Castileti had also composed music for large forces, some of which was included in the *Novus thesaurus musicus* and later copied by the scribe of the Reichenhall manuscript.

It may well have been from this source that the Munich school learned of the possibilities of this sort of music, for it was a pupil of Castileti, Johann de Fossa, who eventually became Lassus' assistant; and Vaet and Lassus undoubtedly knew of each other's work. Be this as it may, by the 1560s Lassus himself was practising the art to a considerable degree; and having acquired a taste for it, he used it almost until the end of his life. This fact is obscured by the way Sandberger's *Gesamtausgabe*, vol. 21 (Leipzig, 1926), was arranged, for the modern editor transcribed the motets from the *Magnum opus musicum* rather than the earliest sources of the music, and kept them in the order dictated by Lassus' sons who were the first so to collect the music.

It is worth while trying to make a chronological list of Lassus' grand motets, simply because it reveals the continuity of the composer's large-scale music. It also has implications for his stylistic development. The following is compiled by taking the first date of publication or copying as the approximate date of composition—though it must be said that it is only a *terminus ante quem*, and the music could have been written earlier. For those motets which first appeared in the posthumous collection, Boetticher's[7] attempts at dating using stylistic criteria are obviously open to challenge but in the main seem sensible, especially when not too rigidly applied.

1550-9
In convertendo c 1552/3
Deus misereatur nostri c 1552/3
Levavi oculos c 1552/3

1560-9
Confitebor tibi 1564
Jam lucis orto 1564
Tui sunt caeli c 1565
Alma redemptoris c 1565
Laudabit usque c 1565
Ecce quam bonum c 1565
Inclina Domine c 1565
Quid vulgo memorant c 1565
Bone Jesu c 1565
Ergo rex vivat c 1565
Quo properas Jacunde 1568
Edit[a]e Caesareo Boiorum 1568

1570-9
Dixit Dominus 1570
Vinum bonum 1570
Dic mihi 1570[8]
Benedic Domine c 1570
Unde revertimini 1573
Laudate Dominum 1573
Beatus Nicolaus 1577
Mira loquor c 1577
Dixi custodiam
Dixit Martha

1580-9
Osculetur me osculo 1582
Salve Regina 1584/5
Omnia tempus habent 1585
Aurora lucis

Duke Wilhelm V, called the Pious, who ruled Munich from 1579 to his abdication in 1597. (By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

From this list, even with its question marks, it becomes clear that the two great decades for grand music in Munich were the 1560s and 70s; and this is what we might expect from a knowledge of the Hofkapelle, for it was precisely at this time that it achieved its greatest numbers. In 1568, Duke Albrecht's musical establishment had fifty-seven members, many more than the Venetian Doge's *cappella*, and probably more than other royal chapels. The dividing line came in 1579, when on Albrecht's death, the new Duke Wilhelm found himself badly in debt and had to make cuts. His *Kapelle* suffered both in numbers and in quality, for it was during the 1580s that some of his most distinguished musicians returned to Italy, from whence they had come in the palmy days of the previous decades. One of them, Giuseppe Guami, had indeed himself been an excellent composer of grand music, as his *Cantiones Sacrae* (1585), dedicated to the Duke, show. But it must also be said that the list reflects Lassus' personal circumstances to some degree, for as Boetticher sagaciously points out,[9] he was at the height of his powers in the 1560s and early 1570s, producing over a third of his vast oeuvre in just eight or nine years. The later years saw a decline in health and vigour—and interests. For the gay, bibulous man of the middle years became the religious melancholic of the last decade, in which he admittedly reflected the progress of the triumphant court of Albrecht towards the Jesuitical Counter-Reformation fervour of Wilhelm's.

This climacteric also emerges from our list, for even a cursory glance at the texts which Lassus chose to set reveals a change. Of the fifteen works ascribed to the period before 1570, a third are psalms, another third are political pieces, the remainder being unclassifiable either liturgically or in purpose. There are psalm-settings among the works of the next decade, but noticeably they belong to the first half, as does the political piece, *Unde revertimini*. Interesting and more obviously emotional texts form the others, such as the passage from St John's Gospel 'I am the resurrection and the life' which occurs in *Dixit Martha*. But the choice of the texts for those few motets of the 1580s is yet more remarkable. *Osculetur me* comes from the Song of Songs; *Salve Regina* is one of the most passionate of Marian antiphons; *Omnia tempus* is that quite extraordinary text from Ecclesiastes 'A time to be born, a time to die'; and *Aurora lucis* is an Easter hymn. To find such texts in Lassus' mind at a time when Palestrina also was finding inspiration in the *Song of Songs* is not unexpected; the surprise is that they were used for polychoral music, for even Giovanni Gabrieli turns to lesser forces when he wishes to make a statement of this kind. Surely a master of *musica reservata* might prefer more intimate resources; but, as we shall see, there is a musical purpose behind his preference.

Lassus reveals his sensitivity to words in his large-scale music as in his smaller forced works. The music for double choir indeed begins in the post-Rore era, when the influence of Lassus' fellow Flemish emigré was at its height. Word-painting was *de rigueur*, indeed the raison d'être of the madrigal; it is also the commonplace of the motet. The setting of *Levavi oculos* thus begins with an ascending figure as equivalent of the psalmist's lifting of the eyes to the hills. The repetition of the word 'multiplicabis' in *Confitebor tibi* is an equally realistic touch, while in 'In convertendo' breaking into triple time with a jaunty rhythm seems appropriate for the phrase 'in exsultatione me tent'; and the following section 'Euntes ibant et flebant' invokes suspensions in a more sedate rhythm.

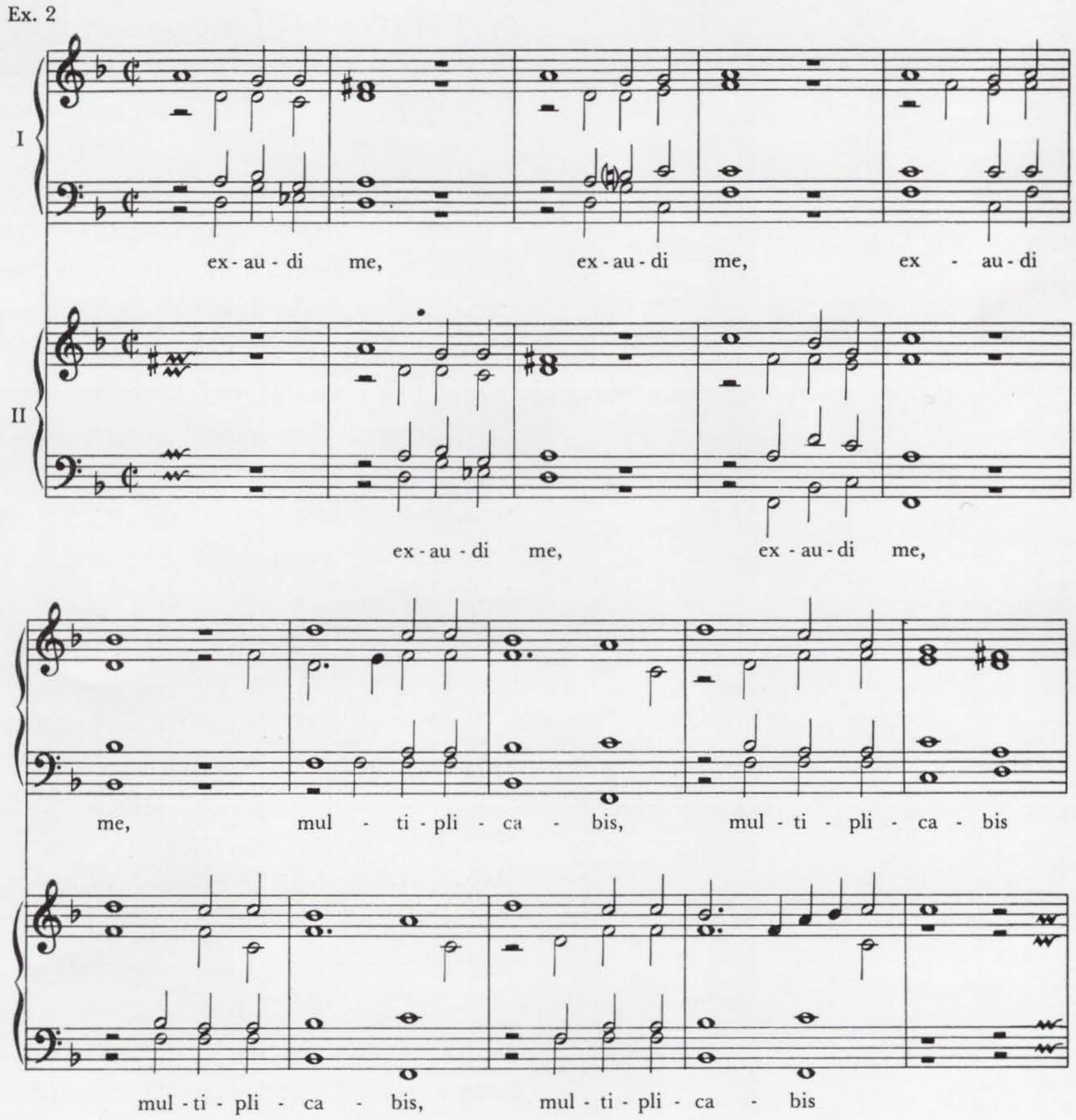
Ex. 1

The warlike images of *Dixit Dominus* are expressed by opposing the two choirs, a very convenient device in this medium; the flowing melismas for 'de torrente' and fanfare motifs for 'exaltabit' are madrigalian touches.

But in general, the texts do not provide much opportunity for vivid musical imagery. It is noticeable that the psalms are set complete, not in those selections of the phrases best adapted for musical treatment. In this they are nearer to Willaert (whose double choir psalm-settings were known in Southern Germany[10]) than to the later Venetians who were quite cavalier in their rearrangements of texts. The political motets are even less

promising material from this point of view. In *Dic mihi* there is not a single concrete verbal image, and *Unde revertimini* is little better. The main interest in using the double choir must therefore be structural. In the psalms, the main source of interest lies in the variety of phrase lengths and sonority. *Confitebor tibi* is typical. It begins with an ample section for the first choir. The second choir enters with what seems likely to be a similarly extended section, but the first choir comes back earlier than expected and there is a splendid tutti for the words 'adorabo ad templum sanctum tuum'. Thereafter there is dialogue, short phrases being passed from choir to choir. The technique is somewhat primitive compared with that of the later Venetians. The phrases are usually repeated in a reasonably exact form: there is little of that skill in amplification and development which Giovanni Gabrieli in particular shows, though the relative distance between entries may be altered to heighten the climax, as in the following section of *Confitebor tibi*, where the overlapping of the choirs at the end of the phrase is entirely effective.

Ex. 2



There is also some stiffness of rhythm in these early psalms. Lassus mainly uses syllabic settings, presumably since with an extended text, imitative textures and melismatic underlay would result in too long structures, but there are jog-trot crotchet figures in accommodating short syllables such as those in the phrase 'et gentes in terra dirigis' in *Deus misereatur*.

Ex. 3

In spite of such details, there is good music among these psalm-settings, especially in those which make the most of the increased sonorities offered by the large-scale ensemble. The splendid *Inclina Domine*, written for nine voices split into one group of five, the other of four, shows an appreciation of the possibilities. If it begins conventionally with the extended phrase for the five-voiced choir, the cut and thrust of dialogue is felt very soon, the shortness of the four-voiced choir's answering phrase giving an asymmetry which continues until the grand climax arrives about the central point of the piece; and thereafter the tutti continues to the end. The very length of this tutti forces Lassus to exploit the resources of the ensemble. The writing is in nine real parts, the two basses being kept independent of one another (unlike the technique of the Venetians, whose extensive use of consecutive octaves by contrary motion effectively diminishes the contrapuntal problems). Hence the rhythms are lively, since inner parts especially can only be maintained as separate entities by cross rhythmic patterns; and the high notes of the uppermost parts are shown to good effect (the lowest ones of the basses are less prominent, but are present often enough to deter one from a downward transposition possibly suggested by *chiavette* clef combinations).

Inclina Domine was often set as a supplication; Lassus gives it a triumphant, confident air; and his methods are so near to those of his political motets, that one realizes it was for musical acts of homage that polychoral music was really evolved. Indeed the length of the tutti in Lassus' psalm is almost identical with that of *Quo properas Jacunde nepos*, a ten-voiced piece in praise of his master Duke Albrecht; while the proportions of dialogue to tutti in *Inclina Domine* are almost exactly those of *Dic mihi*, a motet in praise of the Emperor Ferdinand I, and (although its Viennese mode of composition blurs the distinction in the eight-voiced but only loosely double choir texture) *Edit[a]e Caesareo Boiorum*. Obviously it is the grand sound that is the principal requirement of such pieces; the details of the words are less important. The texts, in fact, provide few opportunities for word-painting, but Lassus is more concerned with their audibility than the Vaet contemporaries had been. *Quo properas* might, indeed, have been written as an example of the humanistic musical ideal, much of the texture being very homophonic, its word underlay strongly syllabic—at least until the climax comes, when Lassus lets fly all his contrapuntal skill to maintain the part-writing (the words are so simple that the message can hardly be said to be obscured). True dialogue is difficult to arrange in these works. In general, Lassus follows the verbal syntax, the phrases divided between the choirs as grammar dictates. There is little passing of phrase from one choir to the other. Homage motets are set

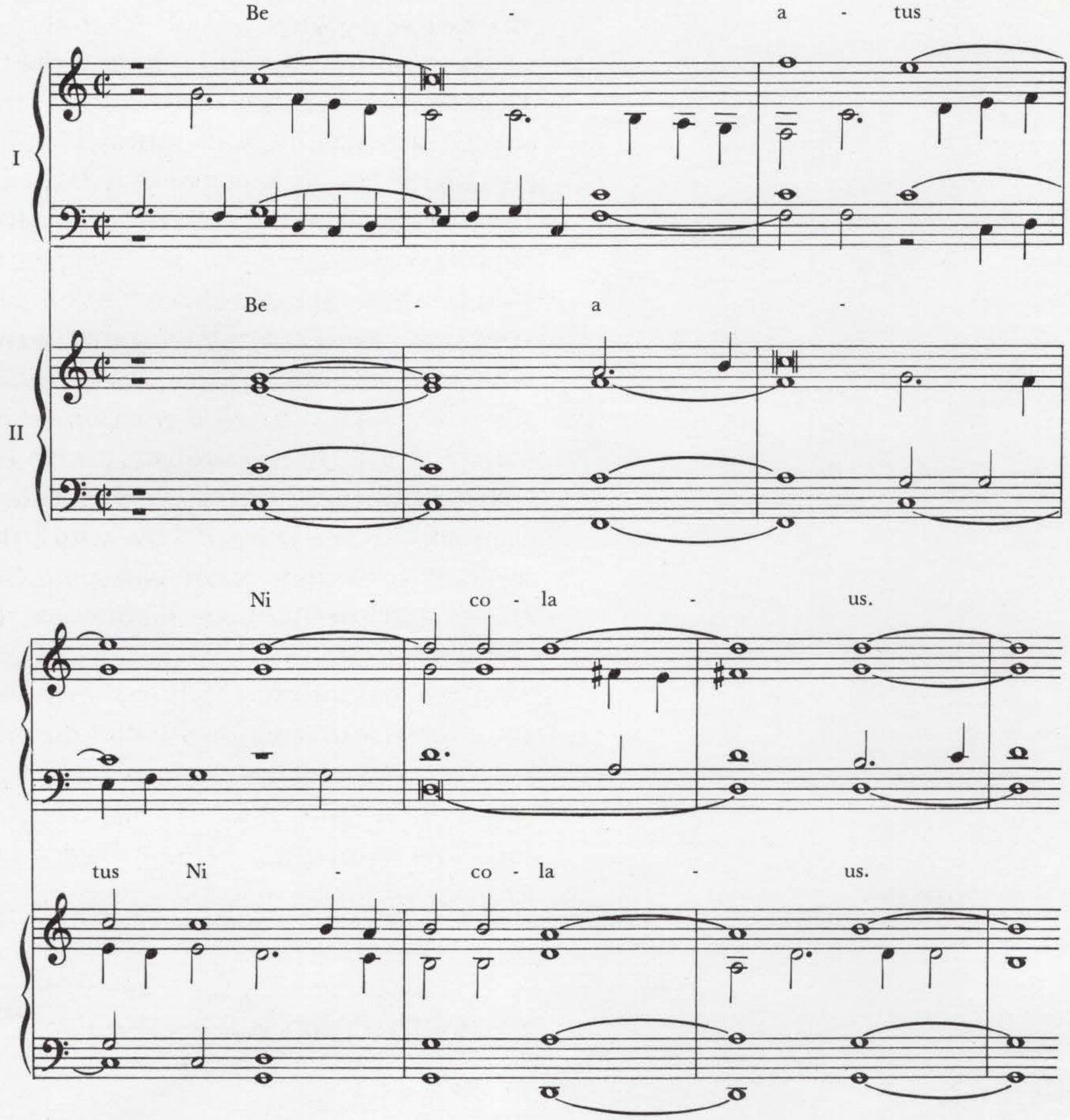
speeches, not opportunities for discussion. For that reason they are impressive if a little unsubtle.

The psalm and the homage motet of the 1560s provide the basis of technique for Lassus' later music for large-scale resources. Sometimes indeed they seem to join hands. The shortness and brilliant mood of psalm 116 allows Lassus to set *Laudate Dominum* for twelve voices in the manner of the Viennese political pieces, deploying the voices in varying groups with varying vocal colours. The opening phrase is one of those fanfare-like motifs which suggest the trumpets of an emperor's *trionfo*; the range is wide, with much parade of upper notes from the three soprano parts; the simplicity of the harmony and its relatively slow movement seems *al fresco* in style. Though Sandberger calls *Laudabit usque* 'a rich, large, deeply felt tone-picture', it is grandeur rather than pathos that predominates, the suspensions of the single choir episodes banished in the final tutti in favour of splendid sonorities, encouraged by the division of forces into an upper choir with a high soprano part and a rich lower group which takes the bass to the D below the stave. Sandberger's epithet cannot, however, be entirely dismissed. The extended phrase for 'Memoratus sum misericordiae tuae, Domine' has indeed a richness of counterpoint and a tendency towards the minor that is unusual in double choir music.

Ex. 4

The same applies to the magnificent *Beatus Nicolaus*, a motet in which a saint takes the place of the monarch. As in homage motets, the tutti takes up a large part of the piece, although more delicately than usual there, being divided between the opening and closing stages to form a bridge form rather than merely a single climax. The layout of the opening bars is especially effective, the second choir holding simple chords which the inner voices of the first choir decorate, gradually infecting other members of the ensemble.

Ex. 5



There is a curiously old fashioned Josquin-like pairing of voices in the main episode during which the first choir elaborates various ideas in a quasi-contrapuntal way. But the essential modernity of the concept is clear from the way that in the tuttis the individual parts, especially the basses, are less interesting melodically, being restricted to convenient harmonic formulae, with repeated notes and much movement outlining triads. This is the kind of technique used by the Venetians fifteen years later when any semblance of contrapuntal writing finally disappeared in the motets of Croce and the younger Gabrieli.

There are other works, *Mira, loquor* and *Dixit Martha* which are even more up to date. Both are dialogues, the first a mystical conversation piece in praise of St Bernard in which the questions and answers of the text allow for short, dramatic interchanges with constantly surprising phrase lengths. The tutti is little used, though the disposition of voices gives a brilliant tone appropriate for a saintly celebration. *Dixit Martha* shows a still clearer knowledge of the modern dialogue as practised by the madrigalists. There are two protagonists, Martha, represented by the upper four-voiced choir,

and Jesus, the lower five-voiced choir (the imbalance of choirs is also a secular trait). Again the tutti is employed only at the end, where a climax is achieved not only by the weight of the full ensemble but by some unusually florid writing which gives a very rich sound. But it is the intricate counterpoint of the single choir sections that gives the piece its emotional quality, with an emphatic setting of Jesus' words 'I am the resurrection and the life, he that believes in me will not die but have eternal life'.

If these words represent a change of direction from the early 'political' style, those few published or copied in the 1580s crown the new attitudes. The choice of text is here very significant. The first verses of the *Song of Songs* 'Osculetur me osculo oris sui' are frankly voluptuous 'Let him kiss me with the kiss of his mouth; For thy love is better than wine; Because of the savour of thy good ointments . . . Draw me, we will run after thee . . . we will remember thy love more than wine: the upright love thee'. Such words were not dissimilar from those which the north Italian composers found so stimulating in the verse of Tasso and Guarini, and though Lassus preferred the more dignified poetry of Petrarch, there is no doubt that the very plethora of strongly emotional words acted as a spur to word-painting. Not that there is anything extravagant. Dissonance and harmonic experiment of the kind found in the young bloods of Ferrara or Mantua is not Lassus' way; but the broken alto line, the touch of the minor, the swing of the harmonies from the first tonal centre of G through F and B flat, suddenly apparently turning back to G, only to be taken away to D in expressing the savour of the ointments, is remarkable.

Ex. 6

There is also ample contrast in the exchanges between the choirs. The chambers of the king provide a sombre homophonic phrase: the succeeding word 'exsultabimus' is set with a fine melismatic flourish; the memory of his love has a rich harmonic phrase, vanquishing the taste of his wine, which flows indeed in a liquid fashion, this phrase being repeated three times. This technique is more surprising in *Salve Regina*, but one has only to compare Lassus' setting of the words 'Ad te suspiramus, gementes et flentes', with its wavering, quasi-chromatic gait, the close interchanges

Lassus in later years (c 1590). (By courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford)

between the choirs for 'ostende, O clemens, O pia', with the stately settings of Vaet[11] to realize how far his style has developed towards the newly emerging baroque.

The high point of this manner comes in *Omnia tempus habent*. The text is itself as baroque as are the verses of Marini and the English metaphysical poets. The contrasts are stark, the meaning enigmatic. Only the opening sentence is reasonably extended: 'To everything there is a season, and a time for every purpose under heaven'. Lassus even breaks this up, the first word being repeated on opposing choirs; the second word also; only the word 'universo' is then permitted extension. Thereafter the text provides its own musical reasoning. 'Time to be born' is succinct and broken and jagged; 'time to die', low in register and minor in harmonies; 'a time to plant' is spring-like in its sprightliness; 'a time to pluck up that which is planted' moves slowly but as sonorously as harvest time. So it continues. Realism in the word-painting is vivid, the tension continuous. There are madrigals which display this attitude, and 1585, the year of its first publication, was, it is worth remembering, the exact period when Marenzio was contemplating similar attitudes in preparation for his 'serious madrigals' published three years later.[12] But Marenzio worked with intimate forces, not those magisterial choirs of the Bavarian court; significantly there is a great difference between the Italians who use polychoral techniques and Lassus.

Indeed, it is surprising how much difference there is between Venice and Munich in this respect, at least at this period. Though in the end, the attitude of Lassus may not have been lost on the young Giovanni Gabrieli who was in Munich during the late 1570s, for if his early works are very strongly in the manner of his uncle, towards the end of his life, he turns to the baroque manner of Lassus in a few puzzlingly avant-garde pieces.[13] One of the main reasons for the lack of similarity between Netherlanders and Italians is quite simply one of technique. After the psalm-settings of Willaert appeared, there was a great fuss by his pupils about his innovation, which was not the use of the double choir but the way of making *cori spezzati*—the separated or split choir—satisfactory. The main tenet was that since each choir was widely separated in the church, it was essential that each choir should be harmonically complete in itself, without reference to its brother. Thus the bass of each choir must obey the rules of harmony. In effect this meant that the dreaded 6/4 chord was not allowed in either; each bass must be either the root of a chord (as we would say today) or the third. There is one piece of Lassus which fulfils this criteria: *Aurora lucis rutilat*, a late piece according to Boetticher,[14] and one which might well be by a Venetian. Full of strong perfect cadences, grouping the choirs to obtain strong contrasts of sonority, having a triple-time section like a Gabrielian alleluia and with a tutti for 'Gloria tibi Domine' very reminiscent of Venetian settings of the doxology, this might well have been performed on Easter Day in Venice, Doge and Senate in attendance, expecting to hear brilliant music.

For the rest, Lassus ignores the requirements of *cori spezzati*. In the other motets, it is rare in a climactic tutti for both choirs to be satisfactory entities. Fifths of the chord abound in the basses of one or other. It is only in the complex of the ripieno that each choir achieves its role. This might be thought simply a technical matter, but there are implications both for

the construction of polychoral music and for its performance. In fact, Lassus does not write for *cori spezzati*. The well known miniature by Hans Mielich in the manuscript of his *Penitential Psalms*[15] shows the players surrounding the composer at the keyboard without any spatial separation; and other pictures of German *Kapelle*[16] suggest that this was not unusual. And although Praetorius[17] recommends various combinations of instruments for the performance of several of Lassus' motets, it may well be that his logical equation of 'choir' with 'instrumental family' is a latter-day view rather than what happened in the 16th century. Indeed, it is interesting that Praetorius seems more ready to mix timbres than in the music of the Venetians. For the first choir of *In convertendo* for example, with its G2 C2 C3 B3 clef combination, he apparently prefers a group of three flutes or three cornetti muti or three violins to accompany the human voice; but he is not averse to a mixture of violin, flute (or recorder) and cornett for this purpose. While for the second choir of *Quo properas* with its C1 C3 C4 C4 B4 combination he is prepared for no less than seven variants, some monochrome (cornetts and trombones being equated for this purpose) others being mixtures of flutes, trombones and a bassoon, thus supporting the pictorial evidence with its mélange of instruments and voices showing no obvious pattern. This is a far cry from the conditions in S. Marco, with its choir galleries automatically dividing groups and encouraging thought about contrasting bodies of sound. Lassus, as we have seen, gains his contrasts by other means, by harmonic or rhythmic devices rather than sonorities.

The fact that the double choir does not imply physical separation makes the Willaert principles mainly irrelevant, and Lassus frequently writes in tuttis on the assumption that the 'real' bass—the lowest part for the time being—will be heard as such, while the other bass line acts as a middle part. This may not seem important, but in the event, it is this more than anything which makes his music sound un-Venetian. In the dialogue interplay of the Gabrielian motet, the fact that the basses have to interlock makes the composer keep the harmony simple, and its rhythm regular. The many cadential progressions are a major fact in that extrovert nature which Venetian ceremonial music possesses: it is only in the later works that Giovanni Gabrieli finds how to enrich the harmony by a subtle use of multiple passing notes. Lassus, on the contrary, has no such constraint, and his chordal patterns are rarely so straightforward. He has the view of a contrapuntist for whom the bass takes part in the general ensemble and is not simply a foundation for the rest. Even the quasi-Venetian opening of *Beatus Nicolaus*, with its steady tread of fifths and fourths in the bass of the second choir, soon gives way to some intricate polyphony in which Lassus relishes the independence of all the voices. But then Lassus' music is rarely pure and simple; he was one of the most varied of composers, an outstanding example to prove that genius lies less often in the art of refinement than in the willingness to mix diverse ingredients as they come to hand.

[1] Giovanni d'Alessi, 'Precursors of Adriano Willaert in the practice of coro spezzato'. *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, Vol. V (New York, 1953), nr III p. 187ff.

[2] I am grateful to the Librarian of the Munich Staatsbibliothek, Dr R. Münster and his most helpful colleagues for allowing me to consult in its typescript form the excellent new catalogue of manuscripts by Dr Marie-Luise Göllner, shortly to be published.

[3] For example Musik Mss 41 [Maier 127] which belonged to the Hofkapelle in the 1550s; Musik Mss 46 [Maier 18] was copied *c* 1565; and Musik Mss 64 [Maier 23] copied *c* 1570. All these contain polychoral music by a wide range of composers.

[4] [Maier 132]. This was copied for an Augustinian community in Reichenhall and contains in addition to copies of many pieces from the two publications already mentioned, an ample quantity of polychoral music clearly flourishing only in Southern Germany.

[5] A. Dunning, *Die Staatsmotette 1480-1555* (Utrecht, 1969).

[6] v. Milton Steinhardt, *Jacobus Vaet and his motets* (East Lansing, Mich, 1951), p. 37 passim; also the editions in *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich.*

[7] W. Boetticher, *Orlando di Lasso und Seine Zeit 1532-1594* (Kassel and Basel, 1958). See also his article 'Eine Frühfassung doppelchöriger Motetten Orlando di Lassos' in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* XII (1955), p. 206ff.

[8] Date of publication. Its text in praise of the *Kaiser* [not Archduke] Ferdinand implies an earlier date, before 1564.

[9] op cit, p. 169.

[10] His eight-voiced 'Cum invocarem' was printed in the *Thesaurus musicus* (1564) and copied in Musik Mss 1536.

[11] *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich*, Vol. 116 pp. 40 and 52.

[12] v. D. Arnold, *Marenzio* (London, 1965), p. 23.

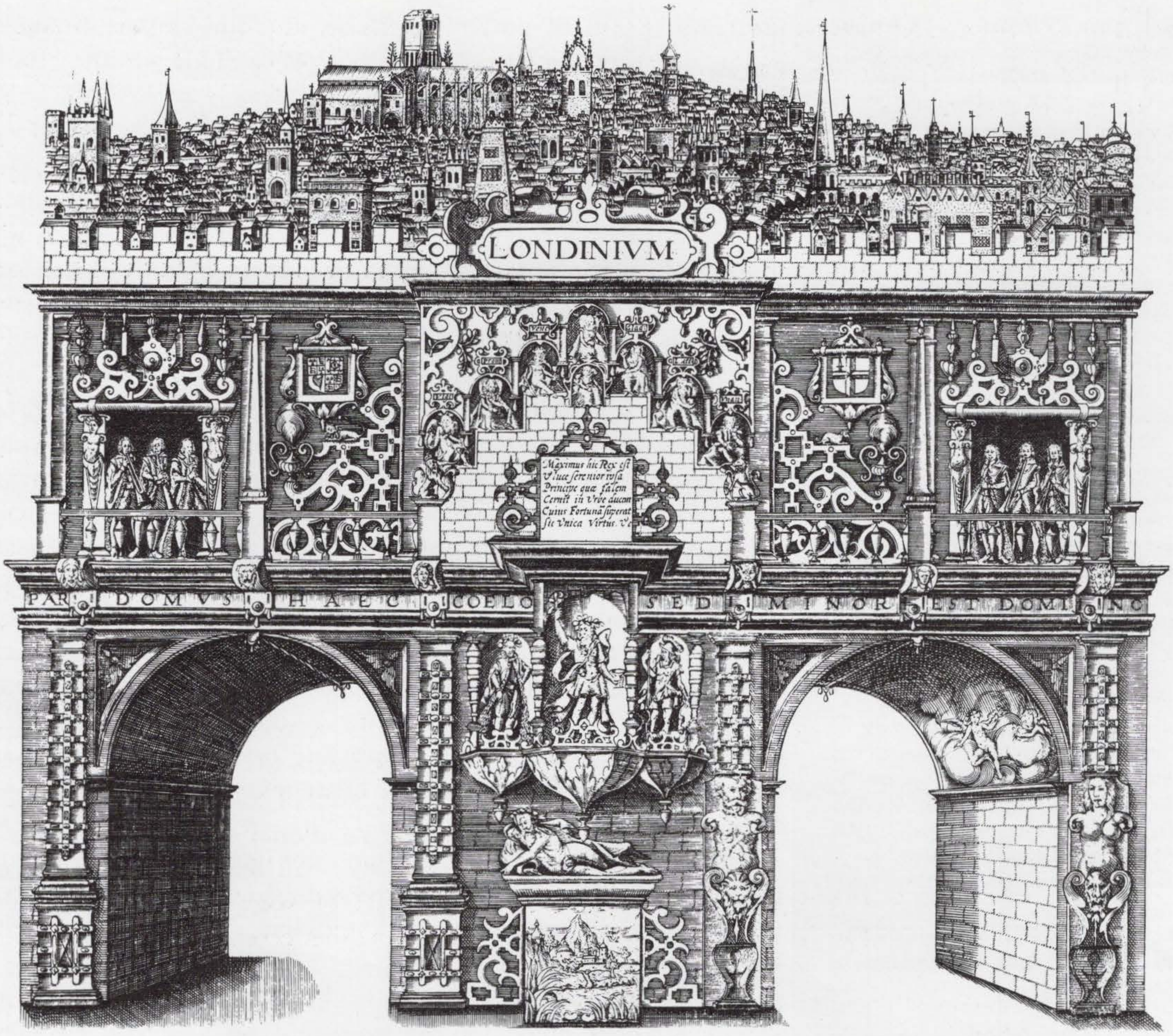
[13] v. D. Arnold, *Giovanni Gabrieli* (London, 1974), p. 58ff.

[14] op cit, p. 476.

[15] Reproduced in many places, of which one of the best is Walter Salmen, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern* Band III Lieferung 9 *Musik-leben im 16. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig, 1969).

[16] For example, the picture of Augsburg Diocesan Council in 1610 reproduced in *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* Vol. III, Tafel 43.

[17] *Syntagma Musicum III*, p. 153f.



Design for the Londinium Arch at Fenchurch on the occasion of the entry into London of King James I and his queen, Anne of Denmark, 15 March 1604. From Stephen Harrison: Arches of Triumph *(London, 1604). Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum*

GRETT AND SOLOMPNE SINGING

Instruments in English church music before the Civil War

ANDREW PARROTT

The spirit of enquiry that characterizes current work on performance practices of the past appears as yet to have had little impact on the world of English church music. The reason for this is that there seems to have been an unbroken tradition of choral singing from the Restoration up to the present day. The music of Tallis and Byrd, for example, has never entirely disappeared from the Anglican repertory, and it is therefore all too easy, when listening to such music sung by today's cathedral choirs, to assume that one is hearing, as it were, the real thing. Here, I shall be concerned with just one of many issues—the use of instruments in the English church during the 16th and early 17th centuries. Were any instruments other than the organ in use? If so, which ones and under what circumstances?

Around 1500 we can be fairly sure that choral singing in England was unaccompanied and that the only instrument in common use was the organ, playing in alternation with the choir. But when we read that a

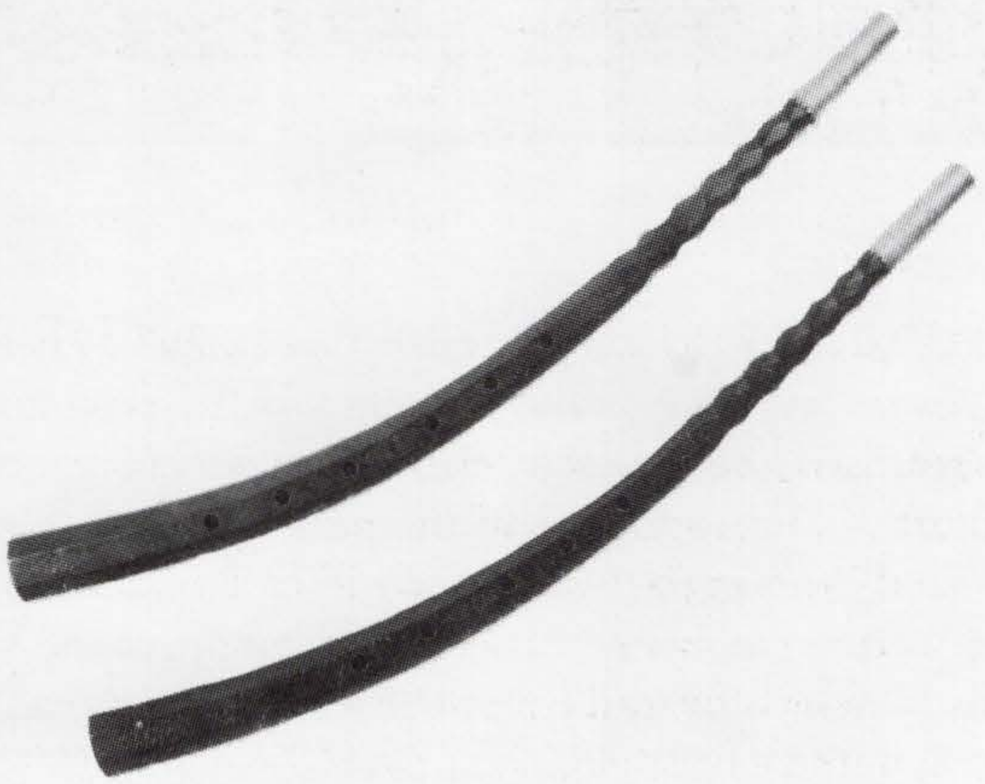
High Mass at St Paul's in 1514 'was performed with great pomp and with vocal and instrumental music',[1] we may question whether this 'instrumental music' was simply organ-playing. On the continent at this time one might well have expected something quite different. For example, at the wedding celebrations in Torgau of a future Elector of Saxony in 1500, two masses were sung with cornett, 3 sackbuts, 4 crumhorns and organ.[2] A moment of direct contact between the musicians of the English Chapel Royal and those of the French court came in 1520 when, at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, Cardinal Wolsey celebrated mass with both chapels taking part. An eye-witness account tells us that the Creed was sung by the French singers with sackbuts and other wind instruments.[3] The occasion must have made a great impression on the English musicians present, who included the composers Fayrfax and Cornysh, and indeed on Wolsey himself. Only five years later we again find Wolsey celebrating mass at St Paul's—in the presence of Henry VIII and various ambassadors—after which 'the quere sang *Te Deum*, and the mynstrelles plaied on every side'.[4] Again in 1527 at St Paul's, 'Te Deum . . . was solemnlie songen with the Kings trumpetts and shalmes'.[5] It is difficult to assess just how exceptional these services were; in spite of the presence of wind-players at court, we do not hear of their participation in services there until the 1590s. But it is surely significant that elsewhere in England Royal visits often inspired special musical display. When Queen Elizabeth was at Christ Church, Oxford, in August 1566, 'with a canopy over her, carryed by four Senior Doctors, She entred into the church, and there abode while the quyer sang and play'd with Cornetts, *Te Deum*'.[6] Nine years later, Worcester Cathedral greeted the Queen in similar style: 'with grett and solompne singing and musick, with cornetts and sackbutts'.[7] At Canterbury as early as 1532, a statute may have been drawn up for the permanent employment of 2 sackbutteers and 2 cornetteers.[8] It is a sign of Canterbury's wealth that it was able to support these musicians, and possibly a result of its proximity to the continent that it was inspired to do so.

The last few years of Elizabeth's reign witnessed the beginnings of a revival in musical activity in the Anglican church, due in no small measure to the efforts of John Whitgift, Elizabeth's third and last Archbishop of Canterbury. The splendour of the service at Canterbury Cathedral in 1589 greatly impressed a visiting Italian, 'an Intelligencer from Rome, of good parts, & account' who had just arrived in England:

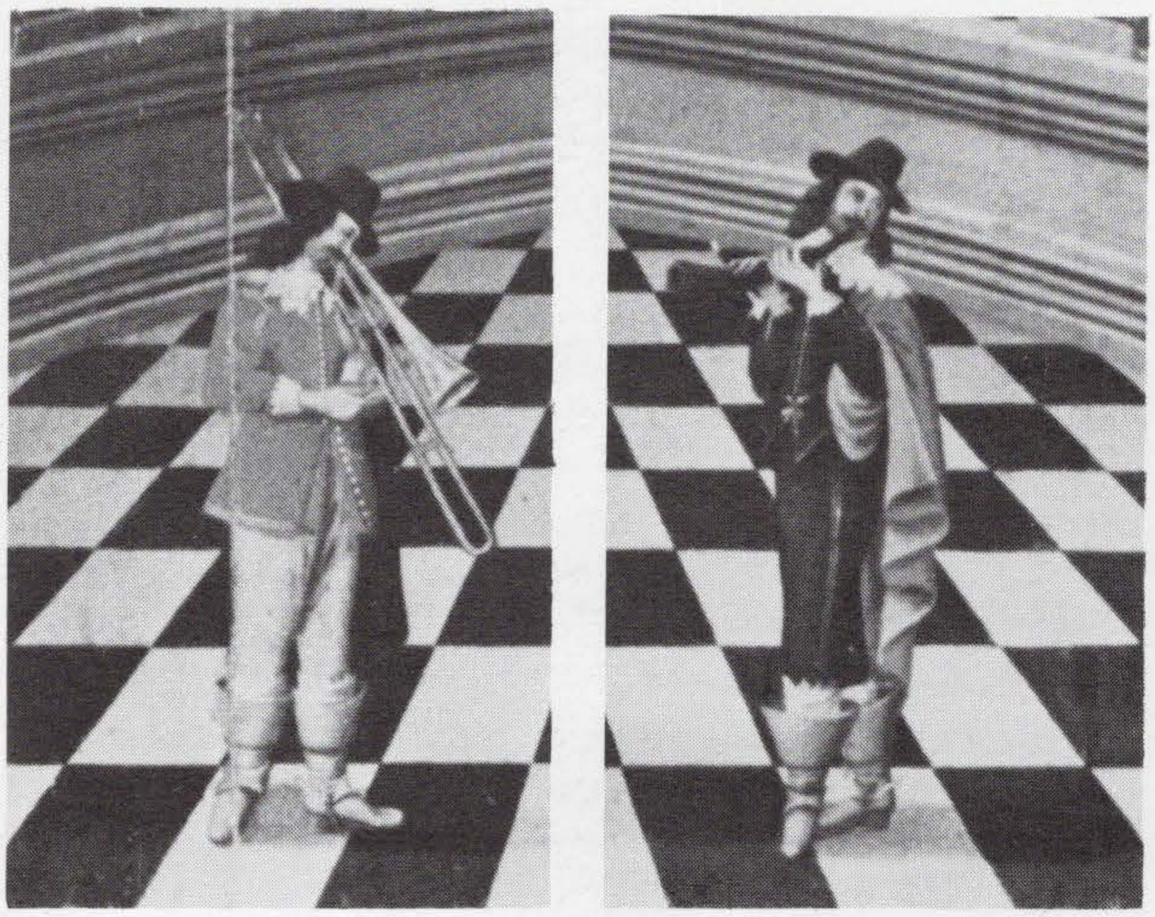
> seeing him [the Archbishop] upon the next Sabaoth day after in the Cathedrall Church of Canterburie, attended upon by his Gentlemen, and servants . . . also by the Deane, Prebendaries, and Preachers in their Surplesses, and scarlet Hoods, and heard the solemne Musicke with the voyces, and Organs, Cornets, and Sagbutts, hee was overtaken with admiration, and tolde an English Gentleman of very good qualitie (who then accompanied him) *That they were led in great blindnesse at Rome, by our owne Nation, who made the people there beleeve, that there was not in England, either Archbishop, or Bishop, or Cathedrall, or any Church or Ecclesiasticall governement; but that all was pulled downe to the ground, and that the people heard their Ministers in Woods, and Fields, amongst Trees, and bruite beasts; But, for his owne part, he protested, that (unlesse it were in the Popes Chappell) hee never saw a more solemne sight, or heard a more heavenly sound.*[9]

Elsewhere we hear increasingly of special payments to musicians for special occasions. The anniversary of the monarch's accession was widely observed and at Westminster Abbey in 1599, Edmund Hooper, master of the children there, received 13*s*. 4*d*. 'for the cornets and sackbuts upon the queen's day'.[10] Around the same time we hear of St George's Day celebrations at Whitehall, using similar instruments: 'there was short service, the clergy all being in their rich copes, with princely music of voices, organs, and cornets and sackbuts, with other ceremonies and music.'[11]

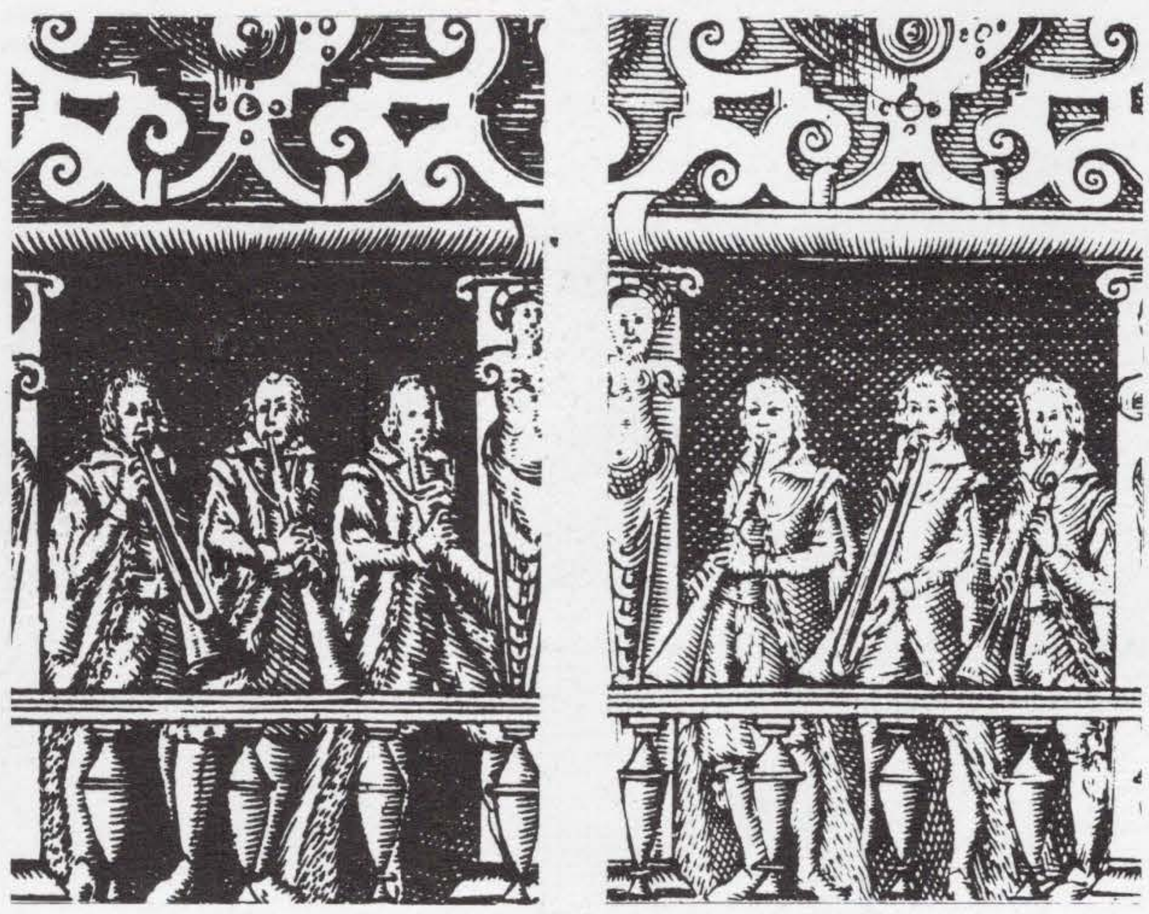
From the turn of the century, references of this sort to wind instruments become increasingly frequent; we hear of their use on such occasions as the christening of Princess Mary at Greenwich in 1605,[12] the visit of King James to Oxford in the same year,[13] the funeral of Prince Henry in 1612,[14] and that of James himself in



In 1605 Christ Church bought 'two trebill cornets for the quire', as noted by the treasurer in his accounts. (F. Lloyd Harrison, 'Church Music in England', New Oxford History of Music, vol. IV, London, 1968.) Photo by courtesy of Christ Church, Oxford



Two details from the case of an organ by Christian Smith, 1643, formerly in the Manor House, Diss; for the past 30 years with Noel Mander of St Peter's Organ Works, London.
'. . . two men for playing on cornets and sackbuts . . . most exquisite in their severall faculties.'



Two details from the Londinium Arch design

1625.[15] Edward Kellie, Master of the Chapel Royal in Scotland, came to London in 1632 and 'carryed home an organist and two men for playing on cornets and sackbuts . . . most exquisite in their severall faculties'[16] and at the Chapel Royal in Whitehall in the 1630s there were rotas 'to be observed throughout the year by his Majesty's musitions for the wind instruments for waiting in the Chappell and at his Majesty's table'.[17] By this time Cathedrals up and down the country show records of at least occasional use of wind instruments in their services: at York, Norwich, Exeter, Winchester, Worcester, Salisbury and Durham, amongst others.

The period we are looking at was, of course, one of enormous religious upheaval, and one in which the role of church music in general was much debated. The organ was naturally at the centre of this debate, and it is well to remember that under Edward VI, nearly a hundred years before the Puritans came to power, the Lower House of Convocation listed organ-playing among the '84 Faults and Abuses of Religion'.[18] And early in Elizabeth's reign, a motion calling for the abolition of church organs failed by just one vote.[19] The Puritan element within the Anglican church was firmly against what it believed to be musical excess. As Sir Edward Dering put it:

one single groan in the Spirit, is worth the *Diapason* of all the Church-Musick in the world. Organs, Sackbuts, Recorders, Cornets, &c. and voices are mingled together, as if we would catch God Almighty with the fine ayre of an Anthem, whilst few present do or can understand.[20]

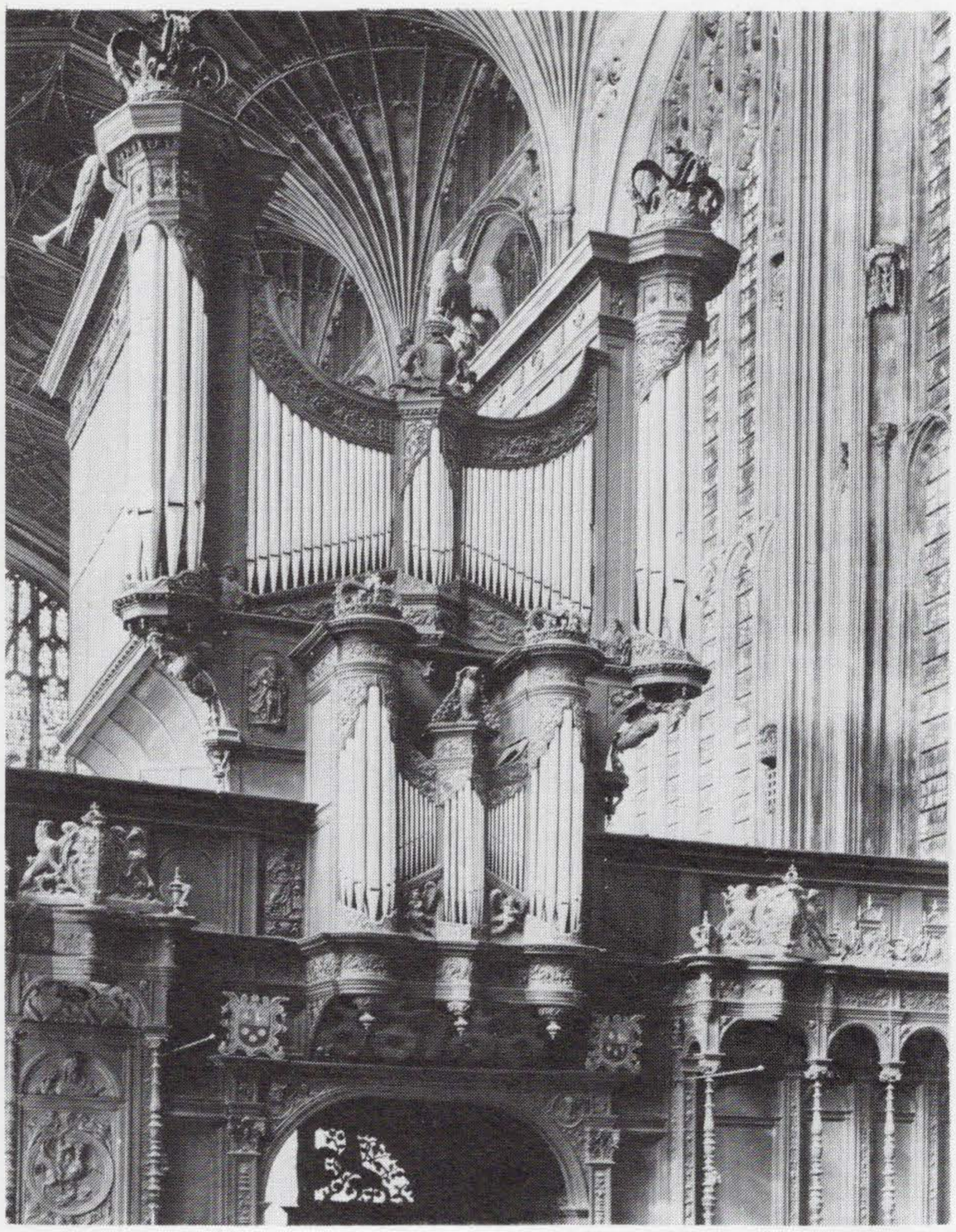
Equally graphic is the sermon preached by one Peter Smart at Durham on 7 July 1628:

This makes me call to remembrance, a strange speech little better than blasphemy, uttered lately by a young man, in the presence of his Lord, and many learned men: '*I had rather goe forty miles to a good service, then two miles to a Sermon.*' (Os durum.) And what meant he by a good service? his meaning was manifest; where goodly Babylonish robes were worn, imbroydered with images. Where he might heare a delicate noise of singers, with Shakebuts, and Cornets, and Organs, and if it were possible, all kinde of Musicke, used at the dedication of *Nabuchodonosors* golden Image.
. . . For if religion consist in Altar-ducking, Cope-wearing, Organ-playing, piping and singing . . . If I say religion consist in these and such like superstitious vanities, ceremoniall fooleries, apish toyes, and popish trinckets, we had never more Religion then now.[21]

Those defending the use of instruments in churches naturally sought Biblical precedent:

Wherein doth our practice of singing and playing with instruments in his Majesty's chapel and our cathedral churches differ from the practice of David, the priests, and Levites? Do we not make one sign in praising and thanking God with voices and instruments of all sorts?[22]

Going further, it was natural that people should ask themselves what was the real function of instruments in worship. An anonymous writer defines their role as keeping 'all the voices in tyme and in tune together, so that by listening to the Organ, every of the singers may



Organ case by Thomas Dallan, 1605-6, King's College, Cambridge

correct his owne error, either for ill tuninge of the songe or for ill timinge'.[23] But not even all High Churchmen could convince themselves that instruments were really justifiable as a support for singing. Jeremy Taylor, for example, one-time chaplain to Charles I, called them 'but a friend's friend to religion', and considered that singers in his own time needed less assistance than their Biblical counterparts.[24]

Another significant objection was that instruments tended to obscure singers' words':

> though it be not in Latin, yet by reason of the confusedness of voices of so many singers, with a multitude of melodious instruments . . . the greatest part of the service is no better understood, then if it weare in Hebrue or Irish.

('Articles . . . to be exhibited by his Majestie's Heigh Commissioners, against Mr. John Cosin', 1629.)[25] Cosin was an extreme High Churchman, who, as a young prebendary at Durham, came into sharp conflict with the puritan Senior Prebendary, Peter Smart. The literature surrounding this confrontation and the resultant lawsuit provides a colourful picture of services at Durham around 1630.

'Our *Durhamers*', wrote Smart, 'have been so eager upon piping and singing, that in stead of the Morning Prayer at 6. of the clock, which was wont to be read distinctly and plainly, for Schollers, and Artificers before they began their work, they brought in a solemne Service, with singing and Organs, Sackbuts and Cornets, little whereof could be understood of the people, neither would they suffer the Sacrament to be administred without a continuall noise of Musick, both instrumentall and vocal, to the great disturbance of these holy actions.'[26]

One further passage from Smart will serve to sum up the whole puritan revulsion at the various trappings of High Church practice: it comes from a publication of 1629, entitled *A Short Treatise of Altars, Altar-furniture, Altar-cringing and Musick of all the Quire, Singing-men and Choristers:*

> Why then are set before us so many objects of vanity, so many allurements of our outward senses, our eyes & eares, & consequently our minds from the meditation of Christs death & passion, and our sins which were the only cause of all our miseries & his lamentable sufferings. Can such paltry toyes bring to our memory Christ and his blood-shedding? Crosses, Crucifixes, Tapers, Candlesticks, gilded Angels, painted Images, golden copes, gorgious Altars, sumptuous Organs, with Sackbuts & Cornets piping so loud at the Communion table, that they may be heard halfe a mile from the Church? *Bernard* saith, no. *Orantium in se retorquent aspectum, impedunt affectum:* Such glorious spectacles, draw away from God the minds of them that pray, they further not, but hinder entire affections, and godly meditations.[27]

Smart's writings, and practically all of the evidence, suggest that the prime function of the wind instruments was to add pomp and splendour to the service, rather than to cover up inadequacies in singers.

So far I have made no mention of stringed instruments; viols, after all, are nowadays assumed to be appropriate for verse anthems. On the face of it, it would seem curious if such a popular instrument found no regular place in church music, especially since it was common for choristers to be taught the viol as part of their musical education, and several entries in cathedral accounts record the purchase of strings for this purpose. But I know of only two references to the use of stringed instruments with church choirs. Dr William Bedell, Lord Bishop of Kilmore in

'. . . a continuall noise of musick both instrumentall and vocal, to the great disturbance of these holy actions.'

Ireland from 1629, was said by his biographer and son-in-law, Alexander Clogy, to have been

. . . made dissatisfied with the pompous service of Christ Church in Dublin, which was attended and celebrated with all manner of instrumental music, as organs, sackbuts, cornets, viols &c, as if it had been at the dedication of Nebuchadnezzar's golden image in the plain of Dura.[28]

This passage should be interpreted with caution, not only because it is a second-hand report but because it may well have been concerned more to evoke the atmosphere of Daniel 3:5 than to give a precise description of events at Dublin. In any case, it makes no specific reference either to verse music or to a whole consort of viols; no more does Lieutenant Hammond's 'relation' of music-making at Exeter in 1635, where he noted

. . . a delicate, rich and lofty Organ . . . which with their Vialls, and other sweet Instruments, the tunable Voyces, and the rare Organist, togeather, makes a melodious, and heavenly Harmony, able to ravish the Hearers Eares.[29]

If indeed viols were in use at Exeter at this time, one can assume neither that the practice was a long-established one nor that it was widespread. Various practical objections to the use of viols could be made, but the only contemporary one known to me is found in Charles Butler's *Principles of Musick* (1636):

becaus *Entata* [stringed instruments] ar often out of tun; (which soomtime happeneth in the mids of the Musik, when it is neither good to continue, nor to correct the fault) therefore, to avoid all offence (where the least shoolde not bee givn) in our Chyrch-solemnities onely the Winde-instruments (whose Notes ar constant) bee in use.[30]

The point here is that in church viols were not commonly used, but it was of course quite normal for verse anthems to be performed in a domestic setting with a consort of viols and a handful of singers. To my ear this works perfectly, since the viol is a small-scale instrument, and not one that comfortably matches a choir of any size.

How then were verse anthems performed in church? Undoubtedly the normal way was the one most familiar to us, that is, with organ accompaniment. After all, single-line instrumental parts are found only in secular sources. But does the fact that no such parts survive in Church sources prove that they never existed? It can be argued that a number of organ accompaniments show signs of being reductions for keyboard of 4 or 5 part writing. Could these parts have been played on wind instruments? Here we enter the realm of speculation but it seems to me not unreasonable to imagine that where wind players were available they should occasionally have been given independent parts to play. In fact, the Chapel Royal repertory included an anthem by William Lawes, 'with verses for Cornetts and Sagbutts'; the words are given in Charles I's anthem-book, but unfortunately no music survives. This was most probably an exceptional piece in having instrumental interludes, but it is also perhaps possible that the instruments simply accompanied solo voices.

Certainly it is tempting to match at least one known verse anthem, 'Know you not that a great prince is fallen?' by Thomas Tomkins, composed on the occasion of the death in 1612 of Henry, Prince of Wales, to a contemporary description of a performance involving wind. Before being taken to Westminster Abbey, the Prince's coffin stood in the Chapel of St James' Palace and there

. . . the Gentlemen of the King's Chapel, with the Children thereof, sung divers excellent Anthems, together with the Organs, and other wind Instruments.[31]

Whether or not verse anthems can be legitimately performed in the manner I have described, the presence of wind instruments with choirs is attested by far more documentary evidence than it has been possible to present here (at some future date I hope to give a fuller account). Nevertheless it would be unfortunate to leave the impression that their use was universal. For general purposes the only musical instrument in common use in the Anglican church before the Civil War was the organ—and even this was absent from many large parish churches. Wind instru-

ments were very much the preserve of the Chapels Royal and the larger cathedral and collegiate choirs, and there they were normally used only for those special occasions when 'a grett and solompne singing' was appropriate.

This article is based on a talk originally broadcast by BBC Radio 3 in October 1977 and illustrated with music by Byrd, Gibbons, J. Mundy, Tomkins and Weelkes in performances by the Taverner Choir and The Taverner Players, conducted by Andrew Parrott.

[1] R. Brown (ed.): *Calendar of State Papers . . . Venice II (1509-1519)* (London, 1867), p. 178.
[2] A. Aber: *Die Pilege der Musik unter den Wettinern und wettnischen Ernestinern* (1921), p. 81; cited by Gilbert Reese in *Music in the Renaissance* (London, 1954), p. 655.
[3] J. S. Brewer (ed.): *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the reign of Henry VIII* (vol. III pt. I) (London, 1867), p. 312.
[4] E. Hall: *Chronicle* (London, 1809), p. 693.
[5] W. Dugdale: *The History of Saint Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1818), p. 433.
[6] C. Plummer: *Elizabethan Oxford* (Oxford, 1887), p. 199.
[7] J. Nichols: *The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. I (London, 1823), p. 538.
[8] W. Woodfill: *Musicians in English Society* (Princeton, 1953), p. 149.
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[10] Westminster Abbey: Treasurer's accounts No. 33653 f.4.
[11] G. B. Harrison: *The Elizabethan Journals:* A second Elizabethan journal 1595-8 (London, 1938), p. 184.
[12] E. F. Rimbault: *The Old Cheque-Book* (London, 1872), p. 168.
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[14] T. Birch: *The Life of Henry Prince of Wales* (London, 1760), p. 362.
[15] H. C. de Lafontaine (ed.): *The King's Musick* (London, 1909), p. 58.
[16] W. Dauney: *Ancient Scotish Melodies* (Edinburgh, 1838), p. 365.
[17] Lafontaine: op cit, p. 87 (see also pp. 72, 90, 97).
[18] H. Davey: *History of English Music* (London, 1921), p. 107.
[19] J. Strype: *Annals of the Reformation* (London, 1709), pp. 298-9.
[20] E. Dering: *A Declaration* (London, 1644), p. 10.
[21] P. Smart: *A sermon preached in the Cathedrall Church of* Durham, *July, 7. 1628* (London, 1640), pp. 22-4.
[22] H. Peacham: *The Compleat Gentleman* (1622), quoted in O. Strunck: *Source Readings in Music History* (New York, 1950), p. 332.
[23] London BM MS Roy. 18, B. 19.
[24] P. A. Scholes: *The Puritans and Music* (New York, 1962), p. 218.
[25] G. Ornsby (ed.): *The Correspondence of John Cosin, D.D.*, part I, Surtees Society L11 (London, 1869), p. 166.
[26] P. Smart: *A Catalogue of Superstitious Innovations* (London, 1642), p. 9.
[27] op cit, p. 19.
[28] A. Clogy (ed. Wilkins): *Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Dr William Bedell* (London, 1862), pp. 140-1.
[29] Hammond (ed. L. G. W. Legg): *A Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties 1635),* Camden Society XVI (London, 1936), p. 74.
[30] op cit, p. 103.
[31] C. Cornwallis: *An Account of the Baptism, Life, Death and Funeral, of the most Incomparable Prince Frederick Henry, Prince of Wales* (London, 1751).

In some towns waits were occasionally employed to play in church services. This 17th-century drawing shows a group of waits playing shawms and sackbuts (Magdalene College, Cambridge)

THE 'TE DEUM' IN LATE MEDIEVAL ENGLAND

JOHN CALDWELL

King David and three priests, from a psalter and book of hours owned by Eleanor de Bohun c 1385 (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Adv. MS 18.6.5. f 109v. Reproduced by permission)

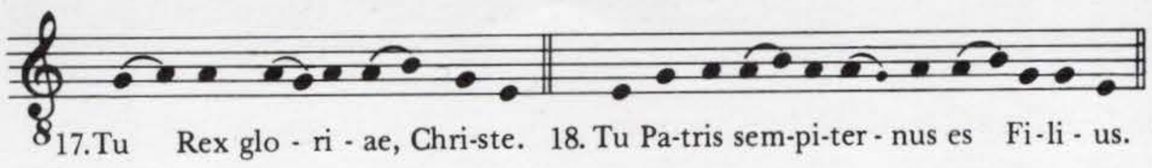
The *Te Deum laudamus*, a prose-poem attributed to Nicetus of Remesiana (fl. *c* 400), attracts the attention of the musical historian of every period. Its plainsong melody, while it does not occur in any very early source, and although it exists in many variant versions, can be shown so far as its principal melodic tradition is concerned to belong to a highly archaic layer of Christian chant, perhaps as old as the text itself. The verse 'Tu patris sempiternus' figures in the oldest document of polyphony, the treatise *Musica Enchiriadis* (*c* 900, earlier than any monophonic source), where it is treated in several forms of parallel organum. It was used in the Middle Ages, as nowadays, both as a chant of thanksgiving on special occasions and as a regular, though not invariable, constituent of the Office of Matins. It figures prominently, though intermittently, in the polyphonic repertory of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, and in the instrumentally accompanied styles of later centuries. It has been familiar as a musical item in the Lutheran and Anglican traditions, while instrumental paraphrases occur in the organ literature of several countries, both before and after the Reformation or Council of Trent. In late medieval England it is associated with a number of rather specialized conventions which throw interesting light both on methods of performance and on attitudes to composition in such areas as tonality and the use of cantus firmus.

The plainsong melody itself, though readily accessible and much discussed,[1] requires some treatment here. Its highly irregular construction involves three separate chants. The first of these is a psalmodic tone in which the reciting note alternates between *c'* and *a*, though the pattern does not become clear until verse 2:

Ex. 1

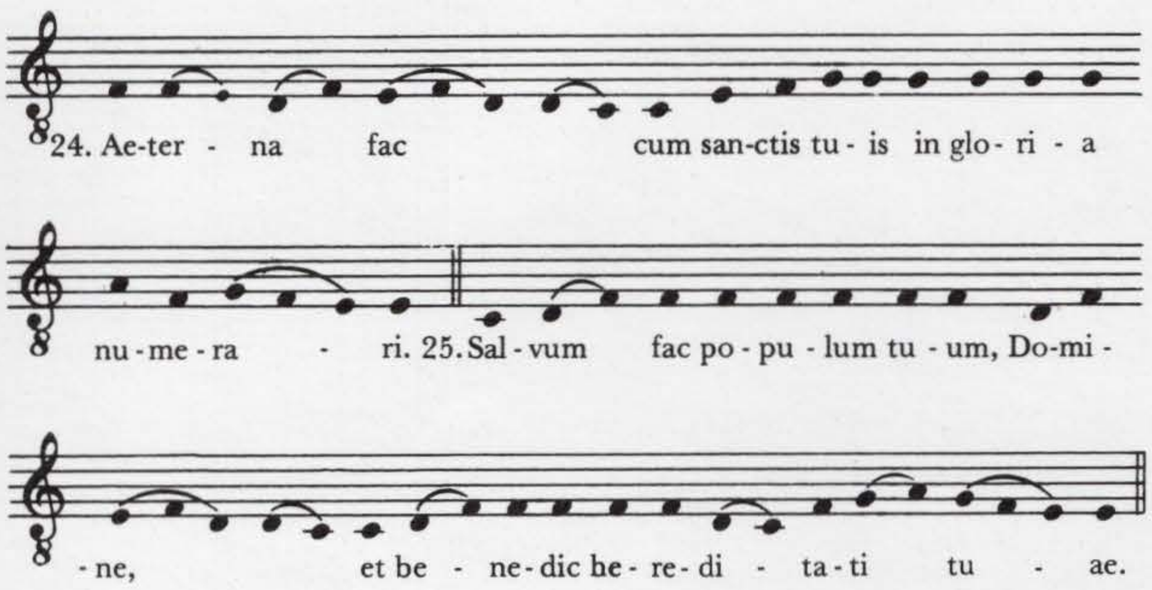
The second is a version of tone 4, similar in character to such archaic chants as Gloria XV of the Vatican edition and the Mozarabic *Pater noster:*

Ex. 2



This is interrupted at verse 24 by a new melody, also ending on *e*, but with a reciting-note on *f*, as in the second half of the fourth responsorial tone (again only with verse 25 is the pattern established):

Ex. 3



This is continued in verse 26, after which the second melody is resumed until the final verse, which is sung to a version of the third melody, rounded off with the *neuma* or melisma conventionally associated with mode 4:

Ex. 4

The overall range of the entire chant is only an octave, *c*–*c'*; but the variation in reciting note from *c'* in the first half of the first melody to *f* in the third melody seems to have been regarded as posing a problem, at any rate so far as polyphonic settings were concerned. It was solved in an early 14th-century English setting by transferring the chant from the middle to the lowest voice for the third melody.[2] In the early 16th century, however, it became the custom to transpose the third melody a fifth higher in relation to its surroundings. This brought its reciting note up to the *c'* of the first melody, and raised the range of the chant as a whole to *e*–*e'*.

How this worked in practice can be seen from Taverner's five-part *Te Deum* for men's voices. The late 16th-century source of this splendid setting is one part-book short;[3] but as this mostly held the plainsong cantus firmus, which can be deduced to have moved largely in semibreves, little is lost. Only the even-numbered verses of the text are set; and the chant is transposed, rather curiously it may seem, down a second. In verse 24 ('Aeterna fac'), however, it appears in the bass down a fifth, and in verse 26 ('Et rege eos') in the tenor up a fourth; that is, down a fourth and up a fifth respectively in relation to the transposition of the work as a whole. In the final verse, 'In te domine speravi', the plainsong appears once more in the tenor, transposed up a fourth as before. It seems clear that the odd-numbered verses are to be sung in plainsong at the pitches of the cantus firmus in the comparable even-numbered verses.

A further oddity is that the plainsong of the second melody has to be modified at the cadences. In the *Tudor Church Music* edition of Taverner's work this modification is interpreted, editorially of course, as *a f d e* (as opposed to *a f d* in the plainsong in this transposition). For reasons which will become clear, I believe the correct version of the cantus firmus at these points to be *a f g a*. The effect in any case, taken together with the transposition of the third melody, is to give a cadence on to an A major chord throughout the second half of the work, from 'Tu rex gloriae' onwards, as opposed to the F major cadences in the first half.

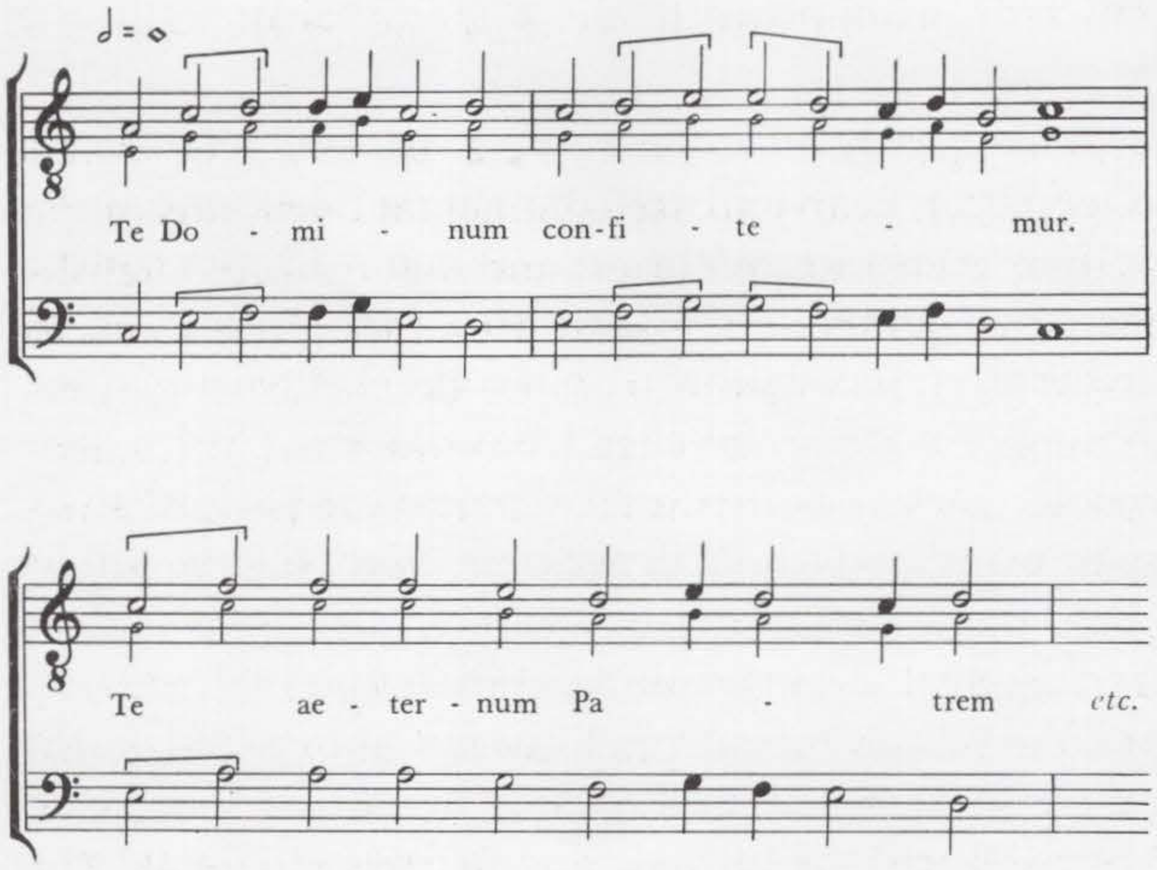
A precisely comparable situation occurs in Sheppard's massive six-part setting from the same source. Here again the tenor cantus firmus can be supplied, and can be inferred to be substantially in semibreves throughout. Unlike the Taverner setting, however, it never deviates from the tenor voice. The whole work is written at an exceptionally low pitch, with many bottom *C*s in the bass voice; but, as will be seen, there are good grounds for assuming it to have been sung at a pitch comparable to that of Taverner's setting. The identical modification is required in the verses using the second melody (*e c d e* in Sheppard's written pitch: the formula adopted in the *TCM* edition of Taverner will not work here).

Conventions as to transposition and tonal organization in 16th-century settings of the *Te Deum* are paralleled by that of faburdon. Recent research has shown that faburdon, as originally practised, was a technique for improvising three-part polyphony straight from a plainsong melody. To the plainsong in the 'mean' voice was added a 'treble' a fourth above, while the third part, the 'faburdon' itself, was added a third below, making chains of 6/3 chords, but descending to a fifth at cadences and at certain other points.[4] During the course of the 15th century, a change of emphasis occurred in which the plainsong came to be thought of as being in the top, rather than the middle voice. This was a natural development, not

only because the top part captures the attention of the hearer more readily than the middle voice, but also because its tonality matches that of the faburdon itself, which is bound to give an impression of the sub-dominant *vis-à-vis* the middle voice.

Faburdon in the early 15th century was evidently sung within the normal voice-ranges of the time, straying only rarely, perhaps, outside the two-octave *c*–*c''* range.[5] We may assume that it continued to be improvised in this middle register even after written polyphony had expanded outwards to incorporate genuine bass and treble voices as a matter of course. With the notational constraints imposed by the expansion of the total choir range, the *Te Deum* chant could conventionally appear in the middle of the three voices untransposed, or a fourth higher if regarded as being in the top voice. A Scottish author from as late as 1558 describes the *Te Deum* chant as being transposed up a fourth, with the faburdon a sixth below. The middle voice is to be assumed from his account as a whole.[6]

Ex. 5



The Scottish writer's account is of particular value in relation to the conventions operating from 'Tu rex gloriae' onwards. 'Heir is ane gryt varians in faburdũn', he exclaims. 'The finall noit of "Tu rex glorie christe" is vprasit fro ye propir seit in diapenthe ascendent and in ye said place ye vers is closit and so do all ye leif of ye verses to ye conpleid end of ye can*t*icle. Quhilk is contra ye *verray* rewill of faburdoun for quhy: It suld descend to ye finall as ye plang song dois in yis maner:

Ex. 6

Nocthtyeles, auld Musicians has [*sic*] devysit it craftally for eysie of choriste*s*, plesur of auditione*s* and decoring of closing pwncte*s*. Theirfoir it is worthy to be admittit and for trew fabourdoun haldin as follows in yis maner:

Ex. 7

And so fur*the* to ye end dois it of te deu*m* laudamus.'

Here then is the source of the modification to the chant which is to be inferred in the settings of Taverner and Sheppard. Although they do not themselves use faburdon, the convention had become a general one to be operated in any kind of polyphonic setting of the chant.

From its use as a method of improvisation, faburdon quickly passed into use as a source of cantus firmi in written composition: that is to say, the lowest part or faburdon properly so called was used as a cantus firmus independently of its plainsong parent.[7] This method of composition is already well established in the 'Pepys' manuscript of liturgical polyphony of about 1465. The faburdon seems normally to have been conceived as lying a sixth below the plainsong, rather than as a third below, although as the concept of transposing the plainsong not only to the octave but also to other intervals for polyphonic purposes was by then a long-standing tradition one cannot always be quite sure of this. But that it was the normal concept in the 16th century is demonstrated not only by the Scottish theorist, who always regards this kind of faburdon as deriving from a plainsong a sixth above it, but by numerous cases in written composition where the relationship can be inferred from parallelism between faburdon and plainsong settings of the same chant (such as different verses of the same organ hymn).

Only one surviving complete polyphonic *Te Deum* uses faburdon, namely the anonymous work in the 'Gyffard' part-books. This is a four-part composition dating perhaps from the 1540s, though apparently copied rather later.[8] There is a striking parallel between this work and the Taverner *Te Deum*, since the tonal scheme of the two compositions is identical. Moreover, the faburdon in the 'Gyffard' setting, which is in the bass voice throughout, is an exact equivalent,

in general terms, of the plainsong tenor of the Taverner work. In the verses employing the third melody, however, the 'Gyffard' setting reverts to plainsong, which it presents in the same tonality as in Taverner's, though in the bass voice each time. Since Taverner's verse 'Eterna fac' also has the plainsong in the bass, their cantus firmi at this point are virtually identical.

The four surviving complete organ settings of the *Te Deum*, as well as two fragments, are also based on the faburdon of the chant.[9] Two of these—the works by Burton and Blitheman, as well as the two fragments—employ the downward second transposition and are thus comparable to the vocal settings by Taverner and in the Gyffard part-books in their tonal scheme. The two settings by Redford, on the other hand, are analogous to Sheppard's setting in terms of written pitch. I have argued elsewhere[10] that these different transpositions presuppose two different pitch standards in the organs of the early 16th century; and it might be added here that the existence of two such standards would provide an explanation for the existence of double standards in vocal music of the period. If my analysis of the scanty evidence is correct, Sheppard's high pitch-standard (giving an abnormally low written pitch) in the *Te Deum* and some other works corresponds to that of the five-foot principal stop on the type of organ provided with a ten-foot diapason descending to *C*.

Such considerations are academic unless they are related to the probable standard of 16th-century pitch in comparison with our own. On purely pragmatic grounds there is a strong case to be made out for an upward transposition of much 'normal' vocal music of the 16th and earlier 17th centuries, and this is to a certain extent supported by the statement in one of the extant copies of Thomas Tomkins's *Musica Deo Sacra* (1668) to the effect that *f* was the note produced by a pipe $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet long. This has usually been said to give an *a* flat in our terms, necessitating a transposition up a minor third of the vocal music to which it can be said to be applicable; but the data hardly support the identification of an absolute pitch standard with any confidence. What is more striking is that such evidence as is available is remarkably consistent over a long stretch of time. The $2\frac{1}{2}$ foot standard is obviously related to the ten-foot diapason and five-foot principal organ stops which are mentioned in documents of 1519 and 1614;[11] and while there are too many doubts about the evidence (what exactly was a 'foot' at any time? what was being measured? what was the 'scale' of the standard pipe?) to permit of scientific accuracy, it all points in the same general direction. The ten-foot diapason, however, is said to refer to the note *C*, not F_1; so organ pitch was a fifth lower than that of the choir, or a fourth higher if the 'principal' rank is taken as the foundation. At the same time, there is a small group of organ pieces, amongst them the *Te Deum* settings of Burton and Blitheman, which seem to correspond with normal choir pitch.

None of this, however, permits us to suppose anything like a constant pitch standard throughout the century and a half (1500-1650) to which the evidence relates; and it may be that anything between a semitone and a major third could be argued for in individual cases. What is important is to distinguish carefully between this factor and such genuine concepts of transposition or variant pitch-standards as obtained in the 16th century. It has been customary to assume that the choice of clefs in the notation of vocal polyphony acted as a kind of 'code' indicating whether or not the singers should transpose up or down, or not at all.[12] The evidence for this, however, so far as 16th-century England is concerned, is flimsy in the extreme. It is interesting that, of the authorities usually cited in this connection, nearly all are continental musicians of the 17th or even 18th centuries; and that the one Englishman ever quoted, Thomas Morley, though he seems to imply the possibility of transposition where high clefs are concerned, actually rules against it.[13] It is important to be clear exactly what is to be understood by the term transposition. In notation it implies a departure from any written pitch which for whatever reason can be regarded as a norm; in performance it means a change to a different pitch-level within an accepted standard. It is hard to believe that the latter has ever been inflicted on singers just for the fun of it. The evidence suggests, rather, that vagaries of vocal notation originated historically in the absence of any such standard, and subsequently became associated with a variety of different standards, themselves the product of different conventions amongst instrument-makers—especially organ-builders. Transposition in performance became necessary only when for some reason different standards had to be related or combined. Thus Praetorius, in describing the intabulation of vocal music for the keyboard, refers to the downward transpositions necessitated by 'high' clefs;[14] in accompanied English church music of the same period, on the contrary, the organist had to transpose up to meet the singers.[15]

This digression, though it barely touches the surface

Ex. 8

Ae - ter - na
Ae - ter - na fac
Ae - ter - na fac cum
Ae - ter - na fac
Ae - ter - na fac cum san - ctis
Ae - ter - na fac
fac cum san-ctis tu - is glo - ri - a nu-me - ra - ri.
cum san-ctis tu - is glo - ri - a nu-me - ra - ri.
san-ctis tu - is cum san - ctis tu - is glo - ri - a ri.
glo - ri - a nu-me - ra nu - me - ra - ri.
tu - is glo - ri - a nu - me - ra ri.
cum san - ctis tu - is glo - ri - a nu - me - ra - ri.

of a difficult topic, has been necessary in order to understand the essential identity of the conventions surrounding the various liturgical settings of the *Te Deum* which have come down to us. The conclusion is inescapable that the tonal structure of the Sheppard and Redford settings on the one hand, and of the Taverner, 'Gyffard', Burton and Blitheman on the other, represent what is essentially the same musical reality. This does not mean that the performers of one group went through the exercise of transposition in order to arrive at the pitch-level assumed by the other, but that a pitch standard a fifth or so away was in operation. If, to take account of the probable pitch-difference between 16th-century and modern standards, an upward transposition of a tone[16] is applied to the second group of pieces, the following scheme results:

Setting	*Modern Edition*	*Transposition*
Sheppard		Up a fifth
Redford I and II	*EECM*, vi, nos. 2, 3	Down a fourth[17]
Taverner	*TCM*, iii, pp. 26-34	Up a tone
Gyffard		
Burton	*EECM*, vi, no. 1	
Blitheman	*MB*, i, no. 77	

One practical advantage of this is that in every work the intervening plainsong verses can be sung at their written modern pitch, except for verses 24-6 and 32 (see examples 3 and 4), which must be sung a fifth higher (or a fourth lower, or both together). But this is not the only possibility for *alternatim* performance. Although there is no direct documentary evidence for the practice, there seems to be no reason why a vocal setting should not alternate with an organ setting,

since the verses chosen are complementary. The principal difficulty here is of matching the styles adequately. The massive, stately idiom of Taverner and Sheppard seems to find no counterpart in the nervously rhythmic style of the organists. On the other hand the latter is closely matched in the 'Gyffard' setting which goes particularly well with that of Avere Burton.

The appreciation of these works in modern times has been hindered by the lack of an edition of two of the most important of them, the Sheppard and 'Gyffard' settings. The immense grandeur of Sheppard's work is allied to an impersonal quality which is perhaps inseparable from the genre, with its numerous short sections interrupted by plainsong or organ verses and its constant reiteration of the Phrygian cadence in the second half. (Ex. 8.)

The 'Gyffard' setting, in contrast, is lean, muscular, and aggressive in its driving counterpoint. The full flavour of the work can hardly be appreciated in a brief extract; but three passages will serve to illustrate its dynamic idiom. (Ex. 9a, b, c.) The second passage also

Ex. 9a

Te mar - ty - rum can - di - da - - tus lau - dat e - xer - ci - - tus.
Te mar - ty-rum can - di - da - - - tus lau-dat e-xer - ci - tus,lau - dat e - xer - ci - tus.
Te mar - ty-rum can-di-da - tus lau-dat e-xer - ci - tus lau - dat e-xer - ci - tus.
Te mar - ty - rum can - di - da - tus lau - dat e - xer - ci - tus.

Ex. 9b

[Più mosso]
Tu Pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es Fi - li - - - - us.
Tu Pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es Fi - li - us.
Tu Pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es Fi - li - - - - - - - - us.
Tu Pa - tris sem - pi - ter - nus es Fi - li - us.

Ex. 9c

[Tempo primo]
Ae - ter - na fac cum san - ctis tu - - - is, ae - ter - na fac cum san - ctis tu -
Ae - ter - na fac cum san - ctis tu - - - is, cum san - ctis tu - - - - is
Ae - ter - na fac cum san - ctis tu - - - is, cum san - ctis tu - - - - is
Ae - ter - na fac cum san - ctis
- - is glo - ri - a nu - me - ra - ri, glo - ri - a nu - me - ra - - - ri.
is glo - ri - a nu - me - ra - ri, glo - ri - a nu - me - ra - - - ri.
glo - ri - a nu - me - ra - ri, glo - ri - a nu - me-ra - - - ri.
tu - is glo - ri - a nu - me - ra - - - - - - - - ri.

illustrates a further convention of these works: the use of faster tempo, or a reduction of the time-value chosen to represent each note of the plainsong, in the verses to which the second melody is set.

The 'Gyffard' *Te Deum* illustrates to perfection a vocal idiom which has not yet received its full due from historians of English music. Between the florid but harmonically slow-moving idiom of the early Tudor composers—Fayrfax, Taverner, Ludford, and numerous others—and the style of pervading imitation perfected by Tallis, Tye and White, there emerged this spare counterpoint, neither subordinated to harmony nor consistently imitative. The process of history is continuous and the first intimations of the style are as evident in Taverner and Ludford as its last vestiges are in the later music of Tallis. But it is pre-eminently a late Henrician style, most evident in the organ music of the period but preserved undiluted in a number of vocal works, some of them actually by known composers of organ music such as Redford, Burton and Blitheman. The 'Gyffard' *Te Deum*, though preserved anonymously, is one of its finest representatives, quite conceivably the work of a Redford, a Preston or a Thorne.

This article has been exclusively concerned with the idiom and conventions of the Latin liturgical *Te Deum*. In a subsequent article I hope to examine the influence of this form and its melodic material on a variety of other works, Latin, English and the two combined, both pre- and post-Reformation.

Oxford MS Rawl G.185 f.81v.
By permission of the Bodleian Library

[1] e.g. *Liber Usualis* (1957 edn), pp. 1832-4; *Early English Church Music* (*EECM*), vi, pp. 151-2 gives the English version used subsequently in this article. I have, however, interpreted the liquescent *clivis* as a two-note neume rather than a simple prolongation. The *EECM* numbering of the verses, retained here, derives from English *alternatim* practice.

[2] Cambridge, Gonville and Caius MS 727/334, f.II[r]. Only the last two verses survive, but they are sufficient to indicate the scheme. The last verse, 'In te domine speravi', was printed by Bukofzer, *Geschichte des englischen Diskants* (Strasbourg, 1936) in support of his view that in 'English descant' the plainsong normally lay in the lowest voice. Since the music consists of parallel 6/3 chords in the manner of later faburden the plainsong may be in the top voice transposed up a fourth, rather than the middle voice at pitch, in the penultimate verse.

[3] Oxford, Christ Church, Mus. MSS 979-83, originally a set of six books. The work is printed in *Tudor Church Music*, iii, pp. 26-34.

[4] Trowell, 'Faburden and Fauxbourdon', *Musica Disciplina*, xiii (1959), pp. 43-78. A further important article by Trowell, in which fresh evidence for the practice of improvised faburdon will be presented, is due to appear.

[5] In a paper to be published in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, Dr R. Bowers argues that the bulk of early 15th-century music, whatever its written range, fell approximately within this compass in terms of modern pitch.

[6] London, Brit. Lib., MS Add. 4911, ff. 97[v]-98[v].

[7] See F. Ll. Harrison, 'Faburden in Practice', *Musica Disciplina*, xvi (1962), pp. 11-34.

[8] R. Bray, 'British Museum Add. MSS 17802-5', *R.M.A. Research Chronicle*, vii (1969), pp. 31-50.

[9] Two by Redford and one by Burton in *EECM*, vi; one by Blitheman in *Musica Britannica* (*MB*), i, no. 77. Two fragments in Oxford, Brasenose College, MS 156.

[10] *Music and Letters*, li (1970), pp. 156-63.

[11] The Duddyngton contract for All-Hallows-by-the-Tower, and the specification for the organ of Worcester Cathedral, respectively.

[12] See, especially, D. Wulstan in *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, xciii (1966-7), pp. 97-112.

[13] *Plaine and Easie Introduction* (1597), pp. 165-6, cited by H. K. Andrews in *Music and Letters*, xliii (1962), pp. 35-6. Morley's expression 'naturall pitch' is the earliest explicit reference to absolute pitch known to me.

[14] *Syntagma musicum*, iii, pp. 80-81, cited ibid, p. 27.

[15] The fullest discussion of the evidence for this is provided by J. Bunker Clark, *Transposition in Seventeenth Century English Organ Accompaniments* (Detroit, 1974).

[16] This interval has been chosen in order to provide a basis of comparison between all the settings: it is not intended to indicate a uniform standard to be adhered to undeviatingly.

[17] On the assumption that the 16th-century ten-foot diapason stop corresponds to the written music. If this is not accepted, the music must be transposed up a fifth.

PERFORMANCE PRACTICE IN 16TH-CENTURY ENGLISH CHORAL MUSIC

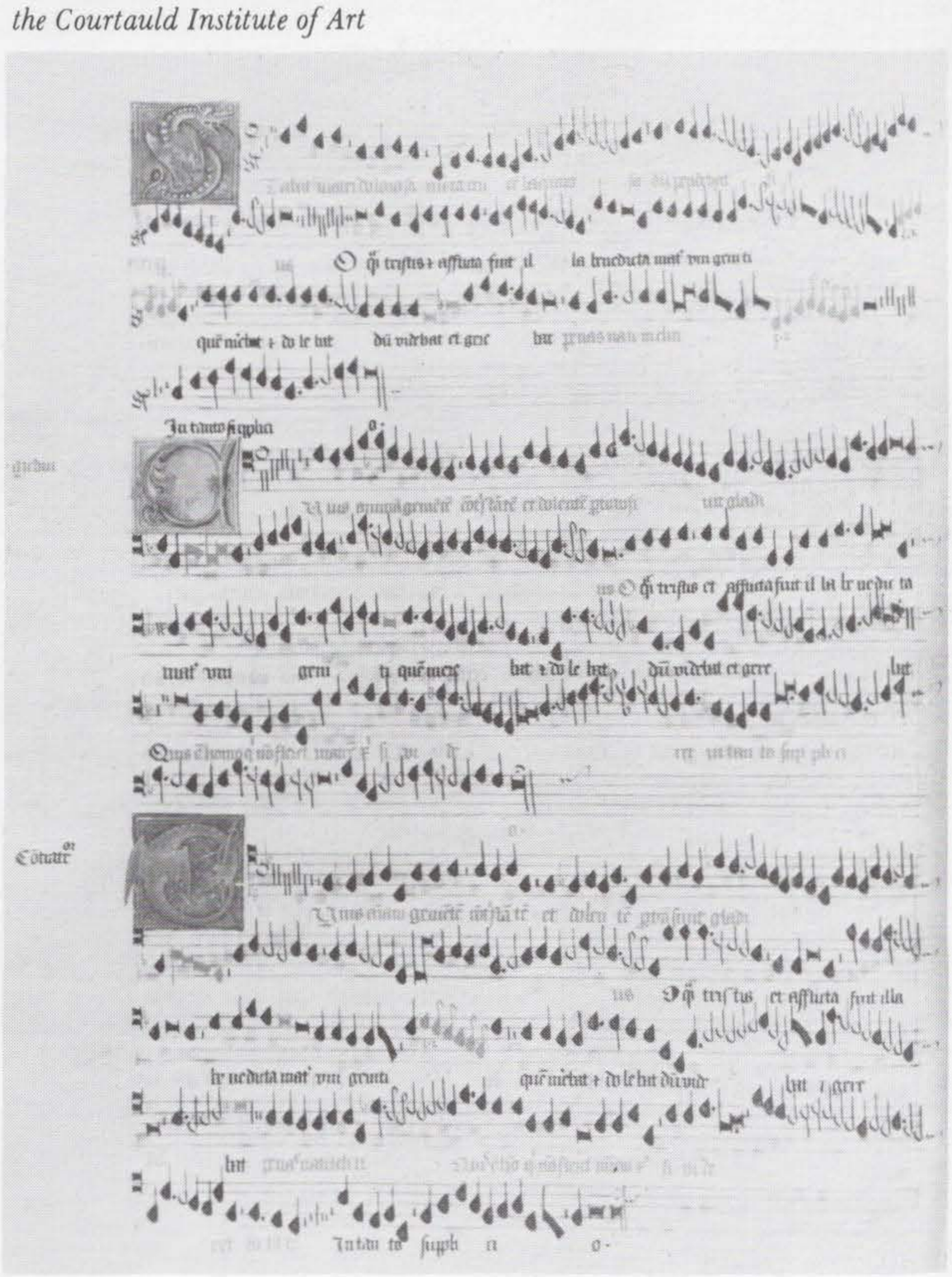
PETER PHILLIPS

Since its first issue the pages of *Early Music* have been filled with articles and advertisements striving for authenticity of sound in 'early' instrumental music. Instruments survive from the past, and the problem for musicologists is not so much to decide what they sounded like but when they were played and in what combinations. The situation with 'early' choral music seems to be quite the opposite. In sacred music at least we often know exactly when and where the music was sung, but we do not know so precisely what it sounded like, nor is it possible to find out. Authenticity in a literal sense cannot be the aim of choral music enthusiasts.

We can, however, guess at the type of sound produced by 16th-century choirs, and the evidence suggests that imitation of them would be highly undesirable. The main factor which determines the quality of choral sound is the timbres of the individual voices used. It is generally agreed that counterpoint should be sung with clear voices: to perform it with operatic singers who use vibrato destroys the clarity of the individual lines and that minimizes the effect of music which is built up entirely on the subtle interplay of those different lines. It would probably also be agreed that beyond a certain age singers inevitably lose focus in their voices, presumably through the relaxation of muscles, and this will render them unsuitable in ideal conditions for performing counterpoint. Our experience in this matter is limited by the fact that the tradition of straight-voice singing started so recently that its leading exponents are still young. The records of the English Chapel Royal in the 16th century and of the Sistine Chapel name many singers who retained their posts until an advanced age: one man sang in the Sistine Chapel as a bass for 55 years. In many choral foundations then as now, singers could not be evicted unless they were proved to be incompetent; and some well-known composers spent their whole lives as singing clerks; Osbert Parsley in Norwich Cathedral is a colourful example. It is unlikely that any choir in the 16th century had at any one time a group of singers who were sufficiently young to perform in a manner which we should consider to be ideal—conditions then were not so favourable to experiment or choice as they are now, and it is for that very reason that we can be so bold as to say that we think we can do better.

But there are other reasons why the pursuit of authenticity of sound is impractical. We cannot, for instance, with any certainty predict what pitch was considered to be normal. There is no reason to suppose that even between two adjacent cities pitch always maintained the same standard. A second problem is that of choral traditions. Choirs throughout Europe today show us how different the sound can be, even of choirs as close as King's and St John's

From The Eton Choirbook, *Eton MS 178 f.15v. All reproductions by permission of the Provost and Fellows of Eton; photographs by courtesy of the Courtauld Institute of Art*



Singing Angels, Eton MS 178 f.30v (detail)

Colleges, Cambridge, is this true. Many of Lassus' pieces were sung throughout Europe; are we to suppose that only the performances his choir in Munich gave were the ones which satisfied him? Great choral music was in many cases cosmopolitan and lasting, and this makes the problem of sound a much more complex one for us than for instrumentalists interested in this period. Choral music is not so much being revived as explored, and we must respect the unbroken choral traditions of cathedrals throughout Europe who offer many convincing, even authentic, solutions. A conductor who comes from outside one of these traditions can only be guided by personal taste.

From the music itself we are able to set down the principles of composition which affected the 16th century composer as a writer alone: these should be our starting-points as performers. Throughout the century the music seems to rely on a perfectly balanced sound: a sound where no single voice or part should obtrude. This ensures that the counterpoint, where every line is of comparable importance to the whole, is presented without distortion. It is achieved by using the different voices only in the middle of their ranges and rarely going to the extremes. In general terms these facts must influence the conductor's choice of singers, vocal scoring and pitch: the ranges must lie easily for the singers so that subtleties of phrasing can be appreciated in the context of a balanced background. Such a background is necessary to the performance of all 16th-century choral music: but as the century progressed the style of writing changed in such a way that we should expect a change of sound quality in performance. The melismatic idiom of pre-Reformation music, with its long, poised melodies, bears an important but only superficial resemblance to the later more syllabic and harmonic style. It may appear extravagant to suggest that a different choir should be used for, say, early and late Tallis, for the melismatic *Gaude gloriosa* and the syllabic *Absterge Domine*; but it is an idea which should be seriously considered.

The English 16th-century sacred repertory gives the following scope to performers: the Eton Choirbook (compiled *c* 1500) is written in a highly melismatic style which indulges in complex rhythmic movement. This collection demands considerable and unusual virtuosity from all the voices in matters of counting and phrasing long vocal lines packed with syncopations and quick runs. Since this type of intricate detail can occur in as many as nine or even thirteen voices at once clarity of texture is of the first importance. Indeed beauty and balance of sound will project the heart of this style of writing, which is its sonority. This is far more significant than the occasional piece of word-painting, which can occur in the later pieces like Wylkynson's *Salve Regina*. Conductors for several centuries have been concerned with 'expression'; here, overt expression must be sublimated in beauty of sound.

Much of this is relevant to the next period—that of Taverner and early Tallis. The rhythmic element slowly diminished after 1500 and this left works like *Gaude gloriosa* to cultivate a melodic style. The singers do not need a virtuoso technique, for much of this music despite its length is not difficult to perform; but they do need big lungs to cope with the long lines, and a fine sense of phrasing. The words have a new role in this melodic style. The music is no more syllabic than the Eton music and 'expression' is still rooted in the

An Italian engraving of the young Thomas Tallis

quality of the sound; but the words are made to point the rhythmic detail which by now is very understated, yet which gives the lines their momentum. Just as it is painful to hear Shakespeare read with misplaced accents, so it is painful to hear these subtleties lost. See the following example from William Mundy's Antiphon *Vox Patris caelestis* (Ex. 1). It takes consider-

Ex. 1

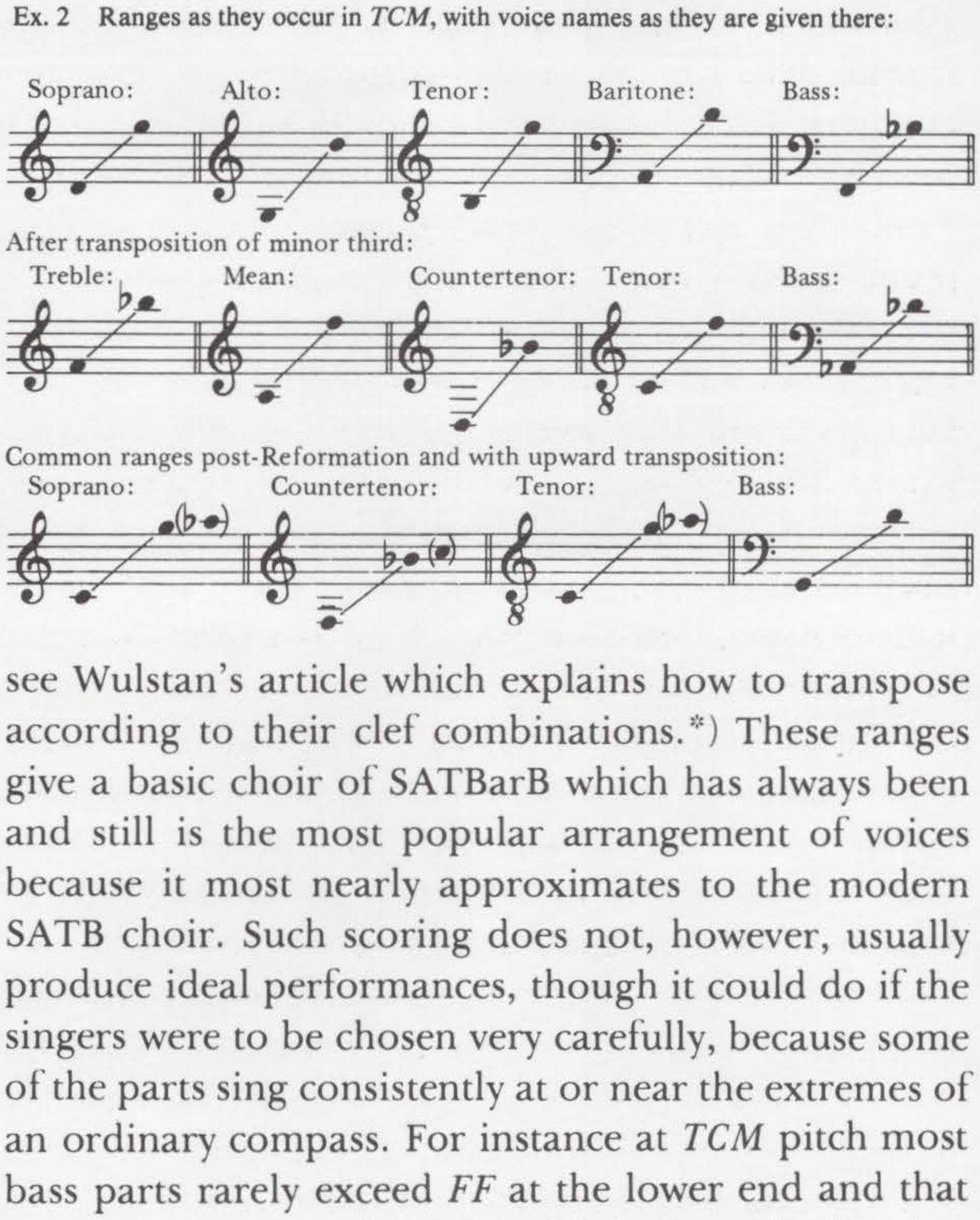
able experience to put such moments across. This music has a mellowness which the Eton Choirbook lacks, as does the syllabic style of Byrd: they have a robustness and the latter at times a brittleness which is alien to the last pre-Reformation works. The voices here must float, without edge or apparent effort but with great precision.

The Protestant Reformers, keen to make church music subservient to its text, destroyed this abstract, spacious type of composition and replaced it with more syllabic and more concise writing. A considerable change of technique in performance must surely be implied. Clarity must remain for the detail is still contrapuntal; but the words in rhythm and meaning now affect every point, chord and section. The moving spirit is no longer pure sound but the affective projection of the text as the composer has portrayed it. Musical points are frequent and the melodic lines often as concise as the phrases of the text; the result is that the mood of the music is malleable and may change abruptly. A new sort of precision is required in performance because there are so many more leads and perfect cadences: phrasing is no longer to be achieved simply amongst the singers of one part, but regularly amongst the whole ensemble. The voices must be prepared and able to effect abrupt changes of dynamic and to use the extremes of dynamic without distortion. They need to be good actors: to put conviction into a brilliant piece like Byrd's *Laudibus in sanctis* or into a pathetic piece like Weelkes' *Laboravi*, and to put colour into their voices, hardness for the one and softness for the other, as necessary.

Let us now consider each voice separately as to its range and possibilities for vocal scoring. In doing so the much debated (though not, alas, in print) subject of pitch must be taken into account,* and it should be pointed out that my conclusions given here result only from practical preference. There are often many ways of scoring a piece and several different transpositions to choose from. It will not matter which is performed provided that the principles underlying the composition discussed above are maintained and that the music lives. I readily believe Bruno Turner (see interview page 203) that he produced a clear and satisfactory performance of Palestrina's *Missa Papae Marcelli* for men's voices only—countertenor, high tenor, two low tenors and two basses—because he chose singers for whom the resulting tessituras did not mean any strain. When considering each voice-type it is important to forget the modern SATB choir, for pre-Reformation composers in particular thought in a basic five-part structure of voices, not four-part, and the modern categories are very misleading.

Tudor Church Music (TCM) as a series published its repertory at written pitch and many more recent editions have followed suit. For most pieces from the polyphonic age this results in the voice-ranges as given in my chart (Ex. 2). (For the exceptions to these ranges

Ex. 2 Ranges as they occur in *TCM*, with voice names as they are given there:



see Wulstan's article which explains how to transpose according to their clef combinations.*) These ranges give a basic choir of SATBarB which has always been and still is the most popular arrangement of voices because it most nearly approximates to the modern SATB choir. Such scoring does not, however, usually produce ideal performances, though it could do if the singers were to be chosen very carefully, because some of the parts sing consistently at or near the extremes of an ordinary compass. For instance at *TCM* pitch most bass parts rarely exceed *FF* at the lower end and that may not seem very deep; but this ignores the fact that

[Note: *c* = Middle C]

the average tessitura of the part hovers near that *FF*. It takes a mature singer with a developed technique to manage a consistently low part and we have already suggested that mature voices cloud the texture. Very few singers can manage this part with the necessary clarity. Transposition up by a tone or minor third aids the lighter voice and helps to prevent the bass part from dominating the texture as modern ears, trained on harmonic bass parts, so often expect it to do.

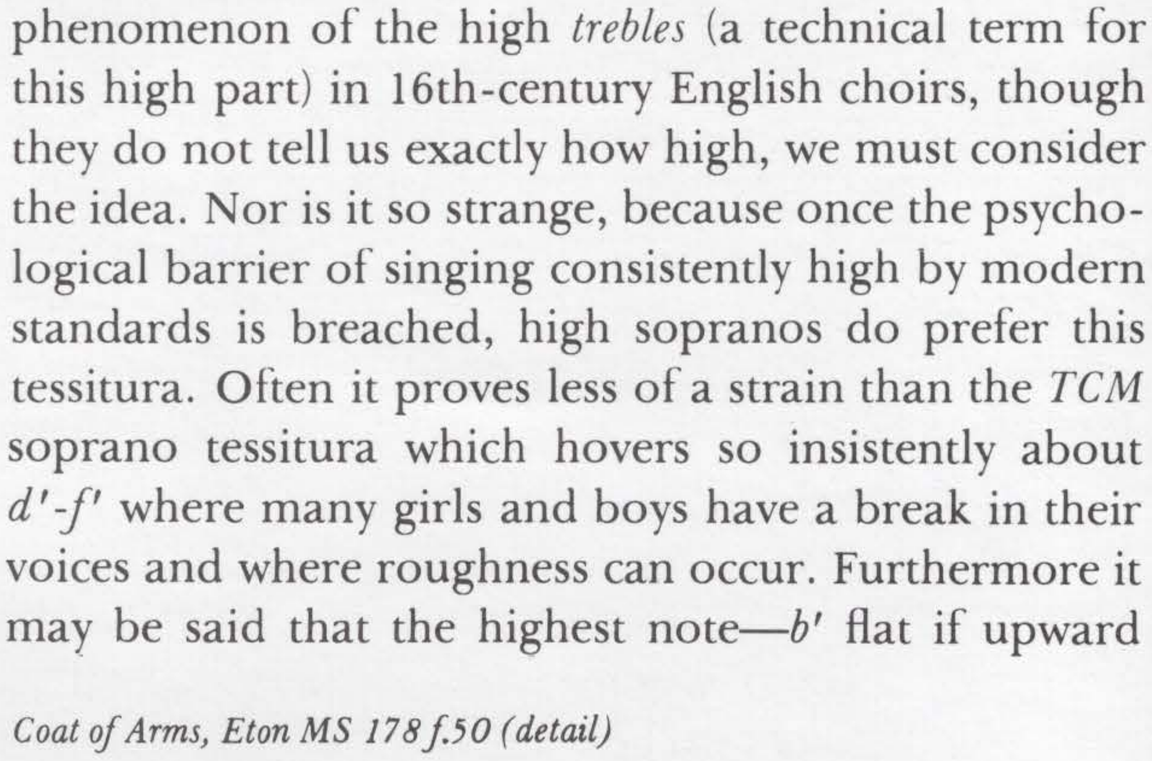
The baritone part at *TCM* pitch lies easily for many singers. If the part be transposed up as much as a minor third, it becomes an untaxing tenor part, rarely exceeding *g* and in fact it is always called 'tenor' by the part-books.

The top notes of the *TCM* tenor part pose no problem for a tenor, rarely exceeding *g*; but at the other end there is a difficulty. This part is characterized by a greater range than any of the others—sometimes an octave and a sixth, and a low *BB* flat would need some forcing from most tenors. To follow the label on the part-books and make this a 'countertenor' part by transposing upwards seems to create many new problems. Few tenors can happily manage top *a* and *b* flat with such regularity, and that contradicts the principle of avoiding extremes; while falsettists find low *D* physically impossible and the choral balance is upset. Although we associate countertenor parts with falsettists, it is possible that a tradition has been lost here. There is no evidence that Tudor countertenors sang falsetto *throughout* their range, even if they sang falsetto at the top of it. It is possible that they changed from falsetto to chest voice without a noticeable break in the middle of their compass, and the resulting range encouraged composers to exploit the possibilities by writing these enormous parts. In effect countertenors were hired both for their falsetto voices and for their chest voices, which never happens today. To expect modern falsettists to use their chest voices and modern baritones to sing falsetto would cause offence. Although some falsettists can sing very low and some tenors very high, perhaps the most satisfactory solution is to use an ordinary tenor or baritone and an ordinary falsettist together on the part, expecting each to drop out as the range moves to an extreme. Between them neither end of the compass will be a strain and with practice the two could sing as a perfect team even in solo work.

The alto line (second part down in *TCM*) was usually, if not always, sung by boys called 'means' in Tudor choirs. This part can still happily be sung at *TCM* pitch either by girls or boys. There is a danger, especially with contraltos, that the consistently low texture (down to *G*) can only be handled by mature singers who cloud the sound. The boy altos in the Vienna Boys' Choir manage this range very well but it can hardly be said to lie in the middle of their, or most girls' ranges. Upward transposition certainly does not strain the ordinary voice at the other end (peaking on *f'*). It is rare to find singers who are content with this low range, even after transposition; but in fact many so-called sopranos lose focus in their voices above *f'*. These singers should be accustomed and trained to this particular tessitura, and never if possible used above it. Perhaps the happiest choice is boys with breaking voices, the likely Tudor solution, though problems of blend may result; to use falsettists, as is so often done, usually requires them, even at *TCM* pitch, to strain at the top end of the range on high *d'*.

The top part—and here we are almost entirely discussing pre-Reformation music—would seem to lie entirely happily for sopranos at *TCM* pitch, and most unhappily if transposed up (regularly peaking on *a'* or *b'* flat). No one would have imagined that this part should be transposed up if the lower parts had not suggested it; but since on the whole they do, and since many foreigners remarked on the extraordinary phenomenon of the high *trebles* (a technical term for this high part) in 16th-century English choirs, though they do not tell us exactly how high, we must consider the idea. Nor is it so strange, because once the psychological barrier of singing consistently high by modern standards is breached, high sopranos do prefer this tessitura. Often it proves less of a strain than the *TCM* soprano tessitura which hovers so insistently about *d'-f'* where many girls and boys have a break in their voices and where roughness can occur. Furthermore it may be said that the highest note—*b'* flat if upward

Coat of Arms, Eton MS 178 f.50 (detail)



transposition of a minor third be used, *a'* if transposition of a tone—lies in the middle of the range of a soprano who in private *can* reach *d''* or *e''* flat. What has been lost is the tradition of singing these parts and psychologically the task is daunting. In addition the possible dangers of this part to the balance in ensemble are great and are considerably increased if the singers are chosen principally for their ability to sing the more full-bodied music of the Elizabethan and Continental masters. Both treble and mean ranges require different tensions in a voice for phrasing and climaxing from that of the later soprano; and the music which uses trebles and means benefits from a head-voice style of singing as opposed to the chest-voice required by soprano music.

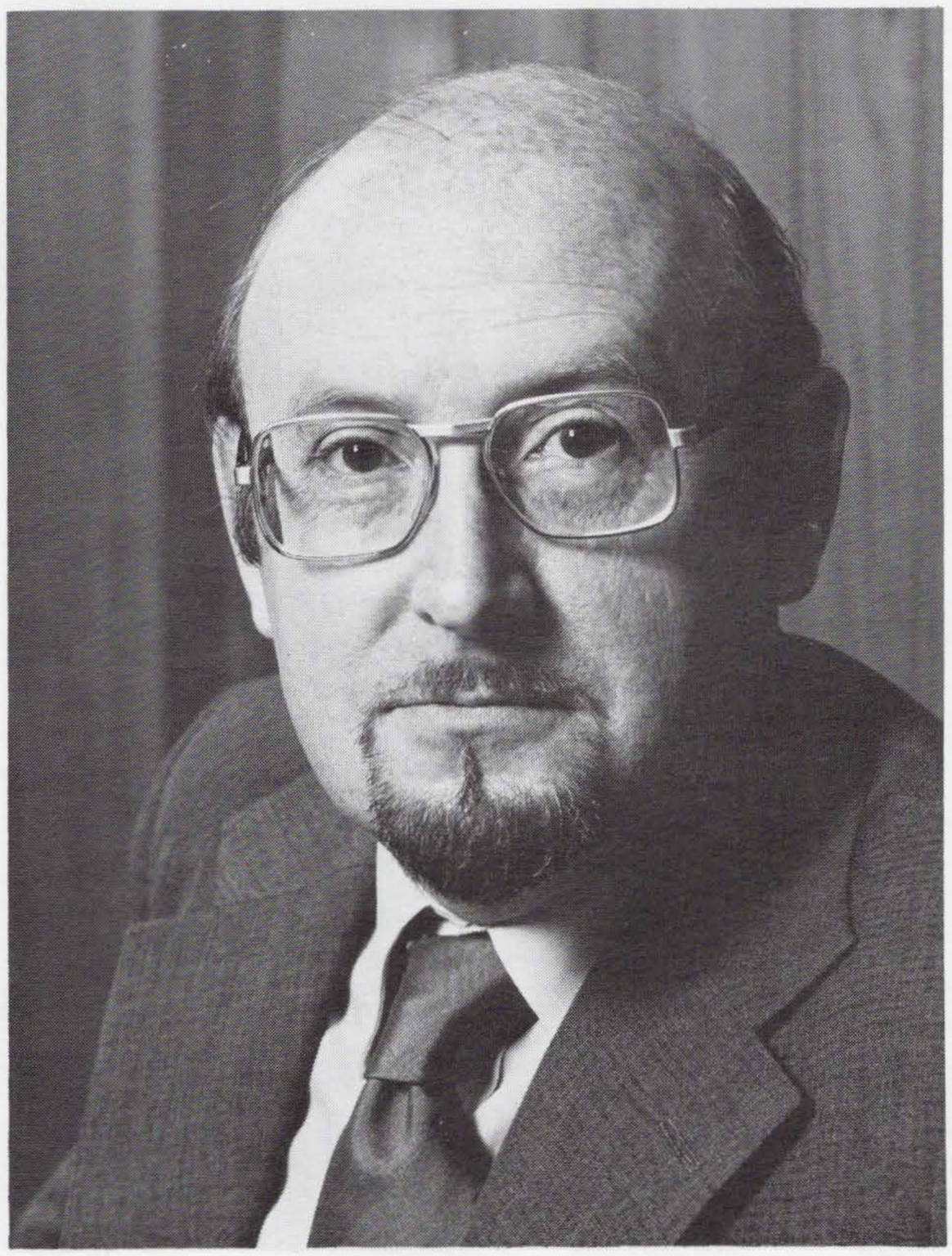
The exact range of the voice-parts was constantly changing during the 16th century; but at the Reformation they changed more abruptly. The treble and mean parts amalgamated, the former losing a third off the top of its range and the latter rising a tone or a minor third to give the familiar soprano range. Thus composers came to treat the four-part choir as the standard arrangement, rather than the five-part described above. The overall range of the countertenor part, especially in English music, began to narrow, shedding a third or even a fourth at the lower end. With the same transposition of a minor third these parts now often fall conveniently for the falsettist. The tenor part extended its range upwards slightly over its predecessor the *TCM* baritone part. The effective handling of these ranges also expects a new type of choir: smoothness and control have to be maintained over a range which for sopranos and tenors is wider than before and which is made to be expressive in many different dramatic situations.

This article has put forward some evidence in favour of upward transposition, and some against it. Much more evidence and argument either way could have been produced on a scholarly basis but it would not have been conclusive. *Early Music* has always had a practical bias, and here it can be said that in practical terms alone transposition of this great music can be preferable if traditional notions of choral technique be modified to accommodate the music's style.

* Two printed articles on this subject deserve attention: Hugh Benham, Chapter 3, 'Some Performance Problems', from *Latin Church Music* (London, 1977), and David Wulstan, 'The Problem of Pitch in 16th-century English Vocal Polyphony', *PRMA*, XCIII (1966/7), p. 97. Both support upward transposition from a scholarly viewpoint; yet there remains much to be said on both sides of the argument.

SCHOLARSHIP & PERFORMANCE

PETER PHILLIPS INTERVIEWS BRUNO TURNER



Bruno Turner, Director of Pro Cantione Antiqua

PP: Was it any particular influence in your schooling that led to your admiration for the music of the Catholic Church?

BT: I was brought up a strict Catholic by my father, who was a convert from the Baptists, believe it or not. He took me to hear the Carthusian monks of Parkminster in Sussex sing 14th-century plainsong, and that moved me enormously. My father preferred Wagner actually.

PP: Are you still a Catholic?

BT: Yes; not as dogmatically strict as I was brought up; not at all thinking it right to believe without question. I especially regret the swing away from the liturgical performance of polyphony, which is the only really effective way of performing this music.

PP: When did you first become involved with performing polyphonic music?

BT: In the early 50s I was secretary to The Renaissance Singers, conducted then by Michael Howard. Michael would sometimes notice at committee meetings that we had a concert in two weeks and would wonder what we could possibly put on. I would often suggest a programme, which included some of my editions and pieces I wanted to hear, and it was generally accepted. We did lots of Tudor music, the occasional Mozart mass, Humfrey and Purcell. The sopranos were terribly boyish in sound and would have delighted many people today who go for high treble parts. The basses unfortunately, some being elderly amateurs, had woolly voices and spoiled the clarity. Inspired by Michael and others I developed my Pro Musica Sacra, which with Henry Washington's Schola Polyphonica got most of the broadcasts in the late fifties.

PP: Whose activities affected you most as scholar and performer?

BT: I have a great debt to Denis Stevens and Thurston Dart; to the former as a producer on the Third Programme, and to the latter as a scholar. The series that used to emerge under Stevens's control were incredible: 24 programmes on the music at the court of Cyprus in 1450—half a year on the most obscure musicological subjects. I didn't rate Fellowes a lot, never being interested in the English madrigal school and coming from a strict Catholic background I was highly suspicious of Anglican clerics. Anglès was the god whom I worshipped from afar, and Charles van den Borren was another. Michael Howard was the demon performer; his influence was stamped over all the music he performed to an almost dangerous extent. His type of sound, which I tried to capture, was half-way between the rather precious tradition of the English cathedrals, especially that of Boris Ord at King's, Cambridge, and the completely brutal, over-emotional way the continentals performed. Henry Washington in the great days of his Schola Polyphonica produced wonderfully meticulous performances with correct pronunciation and accentuation. His sound was very, very clear. They both performed as far back as the Eton Choirbook, but not with so much conviction as the Latin music of Byrd, Victoria and Palestrina which formed the core of the repertory.

PP: Were the Catholic and Anglican choirs quite separate in style and repertory?

BT: Certainly not in repertory; everyone was after Catholic music, be it English or continental. Nor in style did the concert choirs in London, at least, differ much. The faces in Henry's Catholic-based Schola Polyphonica and in Michael's Anglican-based Renaissance Singers were not entirely different; and that was because there was a limited but highly talented pool of young singers coming down from the Oxbridge choral foundations and coming out of the Brompton Oratory and Westminster Cathedral alike. However, few people engaged today in the early music revival have any idea how widespread performances of this branch of what we now call early music were; nor how far back the tradition of performance went. Before the Great War and in the twenties Terry at Westminster Cathedral was editing and performing not just Taverner and Tallis, but Ludford's masses, Mundy and Sheppard. I think there's less interest in early choral music now than there was then, because now all the fuss is over instruments.

PP: How did the public of the time react to whole concerts of this music?

BT: Concerts were absolutely packed. There were real enthusiasts, mostly middle-aged people to start with, who could remember pre-war performances by Terry and others. They went to the concerts because this music was part of Christian civilization, and Christianity mattered to them. They came in the same spirit in which people used to do tours of the Gothic cathedrals: a sense of heritage. This was really a high-Anglican enthusiasm, rather than a specifically Catholic one; and I think the disappearance of the religious interest in this music, and of the liturgical presentation of it, has actually reduced general interest in it recently.

PP: Financially, how did The Renaissance Singers manage?

BT: It was the familiar story of the amateurs giving back the fees they earned from recordings to the choir, which could then put on new concerts. The professionals got £2 a concert.

PP: Were you at that time a professional musician?

BT: I have never lived off music at all, and never will. When I was in my twenties my father's wallpaper firm was going bust, and I was given part of it to rescue. I've made a great success of it and long ago had to reconcile myself to the fact that professionally I am a businessman. I've always used the firm as a base for my musicological interests, and since it is my firm I can order my time as I please. I probably have more time for research than many academics who have to teach or do journalism; indeed Jeremy Noble pointed this out to me quite recently. We import very high quality fabrics from Sweden and France, set designers to work according to our specifications, and sell the result through architects. It is very expensive—as much as £14-a-metre; but Arabs buy it and so do corporations who want to decorate properly! There is plenty of money in the highest bracket, even when ordinary wall-paper trading is at rock-bottom. I've never seen a short queue for Rolls-Royces.

I normally get to the office at eight and set things going before the staff come in. At 11.00 I shut myself away, tell my secretary to say I'm out and get on with musical matters. It's all mixed up together. Today, for instance, I dealt with PCA management and then had to explain to some guys who were complaining that they hadn't received their order for wall-covering that the dye-works had broken down. My files are business on the left-hand side of my desk and music on the right.

PP: Are you involved with the management of PCA at all?

BT: No: I'm the longest-lived guest conductor.

PP: How has it managed to make a consistently large profit?

BT: Through its consistently commercial attitude. All credit to it. Its management realized ages ago that concerts abroad

would pay better than in England, and that there was more work there. We were selling the countertenor sound abroad, and continental audiences were stunned to hear male voices alone singing almost the total choral compass. The noise we can get nine people to make is unbelievable. We try not to use more than one to a part, though, because soloists just will not blend and anyway they enjoy the freedom of expression in that arrangement.

PP: Is it historically justifiable to perform this music one to a part, and with a choir of men only?

BT: As a rule a male-voice group works perfectly for continental 15th-century music and perhaps for some pre-Tudor English music. No matter whether you transpose up, down or sideways the ranges of the parts fit well. The Sistine Chapel had no boys at the time of Josquin and most days they performed one voice to a part. The singers were highly expert and used adult male *sopranisti* who were in great demand throughout Europe. These sopranists sang falsetto all the time and ranged approximately from middle C to Treble F.

PP: You've recorded quite a lot of English music on German labels—is this profitable?

BT: I've no idea and the Germans don't seem to care. They ask me to do a series, I choose what's in it and they record English music. They presumably make their profits elsewhere.

PP: Is recording for the Germans a noticeably better-organized process than for the English?

BT: Efficiency can be disastrous you know. We were recording Josquin in Germany with the Tölzer Boys' Choir; and the first time we saw them was when they arrived on the morning of the first session. They had an edition a fourth different from ours and totally different Latin pronunciation, and a voice down the loudspeaker says, 'Are you ready to record? I say 'No' despairingly and the voice says, 'We will give you three minutes by my watch.'

PP: What are your plans for future concerts?

BT: I'd love to do some English music and have a crack boys' choir.

I'm not a conductor: I know more musicologically than most conductors, and more about conducting than most musicologists. Still, there isn't so much of this music about yet that 'middle-men' like me are obsolete. My main concern at the moment, though, is with publishing: I'm fed up with going on bended knee to other people who then publish my editions full of mistakes. I've set up my own publishing firm to spread about music which I think deserves it, and I hope to back up my selections with recordings and performances to test and justify my choice from every angle. I'm going to cut out a lot of scholarly rubbish which is expensive and which average singers don't want to know. I want editors to make decisions themselves, not pass them on to the singers of all people. Certain things like ligatures and editorial accidentals must be shown; but I want to keep the cost down and get this music spread about in a way *EECM* cannot hope to do because of its price.

PP: Do you hope to make money out of this, or are your motives more altruistic? You have proved yourself to be a businessman.

BT: I have never sold any wall-covering which I have not believed to be of good quality; and if you sell good quality material you usually end up making a profit. It takes time because you have to establish your claim on a small market, and I expect to lose to start with. I shall not publish recorder-music for children, nor four-part SATB masses for church choirs, even though I should make money immediately out of that. I'm going for first-rate unknown composers like Guerrero and publishing 12-part pieces if necessary to get a good reputation; then people will buy my publications because they're known to be special. I'm hoping performers and audiences will like to have hitherto 'unpublishable' multi-voice music.

PP: To what extent does the performance of sacred music interest you outside the liturgy?

BT: All the recordings I've ever made, paid or unpaid, famous or infamous, are nothing to doing the music in a proper liturgical context; and I haven't been able to do that for many years now because the church authorities have decided that music takes too long and hasn't got the right spirit. Now I see a new generation of conductors who are devoted to the music and are primarily concerned with the sound of their choirs, which is admirable; but I do not believe that in cold blood, totally out of context this music can be fully appreciated. To me a mass is devalued by recording it as I have had to do. Recording it straight through like a suite or a symphony is sometimes the only way of doing a good thing by half-measures. The best way would be not to record a mass on each side; but to put one mass all over a disc and include all the proper plainsongs and priests' bits in between and the noise of the bells and people walking about and then you'll get the atmosphere. I once saw Britten come to Westminster Cathedral to hear his *Missa Brevis* performed liturgically and saw the effect it had on a man who wasn't a Catholic. He felt his music to be part of a great tradition. Mendelssohn couldn't understand Palestrina's *Improperia* being a succession of chords with apparently nothing much happening; yet the work has drawn tears from nearly every normal human being who has ever acknowledged any kind of religious belief and has listened to it.

Now, the world of the professional musician was not so different when this music was written from the situation today. We could easily recreate the original circumstances of performance, if religious interest were to revive. It is simply a question of who employs the best musicians. In those days it was the church, and everyone went to hear the best music in church; whether it was in Magdalen College, Oxford, where Sheppard was going to produce some fantastic new piece for Christmas, or in Spain where they advertised with printed bills that certain sacred *villancicos* would be sung at a particular time during the course of Matins. The composers were highly-paid musicians who competed for positions; in Venice, for example, the Doges maintained such a high stan-

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dard amongst their composers because they paid the best in Europe. It was a professional world in which the whole of Europe, and Mexico, was involved. It would be only too easy to recreate those conditions now, if the public and the Church itself wanted to.

PP: Apart from the decline in religious interest, it sounds as though the mechanics of performing this music have not changed very much since the early fifties. The mixture of professional and amateur in choirs continues, as does the manner of financing future concerts from the fees of the amateurs. Furthermore the Oxbridge choral foundations are still providing a constant flow of keen young singers of experience and ability.

BT: In the fifties the singers who mattered were coming down from Cambridge, now they come more from Oxford. The listening public is more interested in the Oxford sound, if you can call it that: and there is the great difference—the advent of the treble/mean idea.

Our use of the falsetto voice has changed too. Those conductors, like you, who transpose up a minor third are asking their countertenors to sing very low indeed. The only person I knew who was prepared even to consider such a range was John Whitworth, and he didn't sing falsetto all the way down—he had a low falsetto range and no gear-change at the bottom into chest-voice. Nobody does that at the moment. Nowadays I expect my falsettists to sing up to treble F or F sharp without bother. I'm after a revival not of the Purcellian countertenor but of Spanish sopranists of the 16th century, the male *tiple* as it was called, who regularly sang these very high notes; and they were not castrati.

PP: Why did England not produce falsetto parts of such high range?

BT: Possibly because of the remarkable standard of boy singing in this country; evidently far higher than on the Continent. It is very ironic that England, renowned now as the home of falsettists, at that time did not cultivate the ultimate male falsetto singer. This occurred almost exclusively in Spain.

PP: Do you think the upward transposition of much of the English repertory is justifiable, even though it results in uncommonly high treble parts?

BT: In theory it seems very likely; in practice it depends entirely on the voices which will be used, and this applies to the performance of music at any pitch, written or otherwise. Using professional basses and one voice to a part I've recently done *Papae Marcelli* a fourth down from written pitch with alto, high tenor, two low tenors and two basses and I reckon it's as clear as a bell; one should not be frightened to experiment with pitch. So long as you can hear the lines, then authenticity is satisfied.

PP: But that very clarity may be an ideal imposed on the music by us. We suspect that Tallis's singers produced rather cloudy performances.

BT: Quite right, music is a living art; we must relive the music with the ideas we think appropriate to it.

PP: Do you, then, think that recordings made in the fifties were tasteful? To many of us they still have too much vibrato, even if it can be said to be an improvement on 16th-century choirs. Our ideas of what is appropriate seem to be changing fairly quickly.

BT: Not that quickly; I think some of those recordings are excellent. Although I sympathize with the aim of modern choirmasters who wish for clarity, I find many performances over-straight. The new religion is no vibrato, and that is rubbish. Less vibrato is a good thing, but whoever authorized no vibrato?

PP: Do you not think that the counterpoint gains from no vibrato?

BT: Counterpoint is only one element in the music; there is expression too and you should allow your voice to be coloured and not sing like an automaton. That is the danger with no vibrato. This is a new fad and in five years' time they'll be joking about it. We want the voice to be vibrant and full of rich tones, not thick; there is a difference between wobble and being rich. Why do you not perform everything on a Moog Synthesizer as I once suggested to a BBC producer, who actually took me seriously? Ockeghem's *Missa Prolationum* would sound lovely like that: you could hear all the time-delayed canons without any difficulty. No vibrato is a new solution to a very complex problem of interpretation.

PP: Is it totally new?

BT: Yes. No previous age, until the last ten years virtually, has spoken of no vibrato. I don't defend the old system, where we had to use singers with muddy voices because they were the only people who would get the notes right in time; but I don't defend the reaction to it either. I am glad of this corrective; but don't let's replace old bad habits with new dogmatisms. Clarity is fine; but I feel some non-vibrato performances exhibit a new vice of being over-straight and lack the natural shaping and breathing inherent in the music. Passion and warmth are not inappropriate in church polyphony.

PP: Do you consider the early music revival to be prosperous? Or misguided in any way?

BT: The singing situation in this country is unbelievably healthy: there will always be good singers in abundance who want to do this music. I'm slightly cynical about lollipop concerts with hundreds of different instruments. I once went to a recital where it was said there were 62 different items. I could only count 53 as a matter of fact. It saddens me to see huge audiences going to concerts for the noise rather than for the musical content. My generation of choral conductors never thought of this music as 'early music' and many people still do not. Perhaps this is why the two spheres of 'early' instrumental performers and choral singers still so rarely meet up. Yet much of the music demands that they should.

Since the Catholic church has taken away what I believed in for twenty years and I can no longer perform in its liturgy, I am prepared to become an 'early' musician.

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SINGING WITH PROPER REFINEMENT

from *De modo bene cantandi* (1474) by Conrad von Zabern

Introduced and translated by JOSEPH DYER

The principal aspects of Conrad of Zabern's activities are known with some degree of certainty, though the exact dates of his birth and death still remain uncertain. During his career as priest, theologian and musical scholar he was associated with Heidelberg University, first as a student, then as a Master and University preacher. His biography is somewhat confused by the fact that two students with the same name matriculated at Heidelberg during the first half of the 15th century. The earlier of the two, from Zabern near Strasbourg, received the Licentiate in 1412; another Conrad von Zabern, from the diocese of Speyer in the Palatinate, received the same degree in 1430. The first Conrad would have been quite advanced in age when *De modo bene cantandi* appeared in 1474. Nevertheless, a brief biographical note published in 1505 identified him as our Conrad.[1] There may have been two musically active Conrads, for Mattheus Herbenus (1451-1538), in an extensive list of famous musicians from Tubalcain onwards, mentions 'Conrad the wandering monk, Conrad of Zabern . . .' in the prologue to his *De natura cantus ac miraculis vocibus* (1496).[2]

On the basis of his own statements we know that Conrad travelled widely in western and southwestern Germany in his endeavours to improve the singing of chant in divine worship. All of his lecturing and writing was directed towards this end. His reputation as a theologian and preacher antedated his reputation as a musical scholar. Contemporaries knew him as a 'vir in scripturis divinis studiosus et exercitatus', and a collection of his sermons still exists in a manuscript from Chiemsee (Bayer. Staatsbibliothek, Cod. lat. 5411). No doubt his extensive experience as a teacher contributed to the clarity of his teaching.

Presumably he taught *musica*—essentially a theoretical

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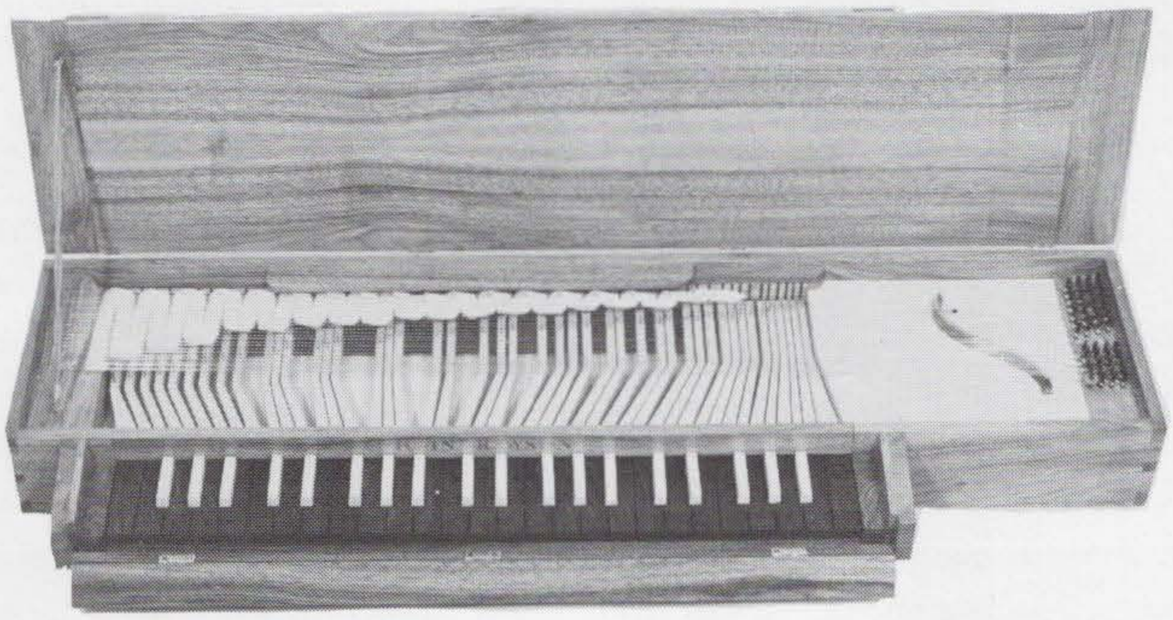

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discipline—at the University level, but his practical command of performance disciplines would qualify him to be that perfect combination of *musicus* and *cantor* so esteemed by the later Middle Ages. Though renowned as a theologian and preacher, he reportedly instructed the monks whom he addressed 'humbly, just as if he were one of them'. His treatises show him to have been self-confident but not vain in his knowledge. His zeal for the improvement of divine worship and for the reform of musical abuses was undoubtedly genuine. It led him to make abrasive remarks which were not appreciated by those who became the targets of his acerbic wit. A few examples of these sallies occur in the passage translated below. Sarcasm was evidently one of Conrad's persistent faults. Rutgerus Sycamber of Venray had heard Conrad teach, and in his *De recta, congrua devotaque cantione dialogus* (*c* 1500) he acknowledged Conrad's 'arrogance' but excused it on the basis of good intentions.[3] Advanced age may have contributed to Conrad's occasional inflexible behaviour. Rutgerus admired his former teacher for his exertions on behalf of the Church's music and confirms his widespread activity in the Rhineland.

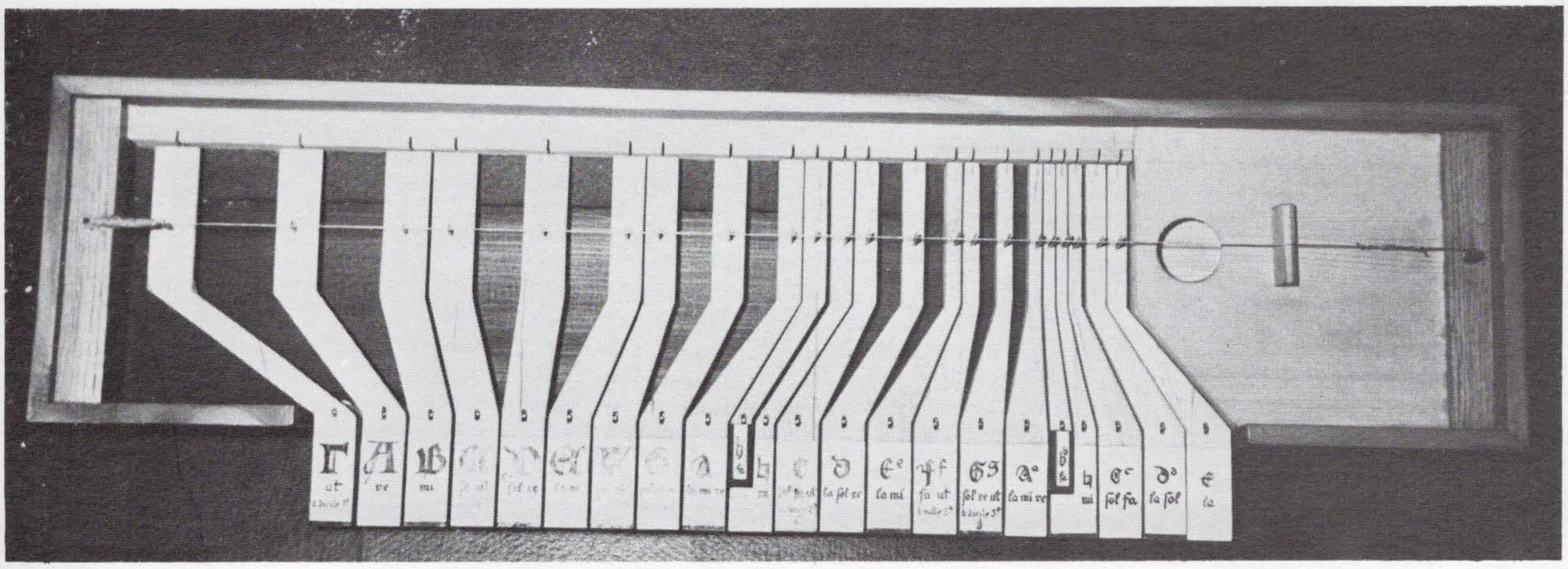
If we are to credit the almost uniformly negative statements about German singing in the Middle Ages, it would appear that Conrad did not set for himself an easy goal in striving to amend its faults. In some cases these statements stem from unsympathetic foreigners, but in other instances Germans lament the vocal inadequacies of their own countrymen.[4] Andreas Ornithoparcus (Vogelsang?), writing a generation after Conrad, had to confess that 'the Germanes (which I am ashamed to utter) doe howle like Wolves. Now because it is better to breake friendship, than to determine anything against truth, I am forced by truth to say that which the love of my Countrey forbids me to publish. *Germany* nourisheth many Cantors, but few Musitians'.[5] Ornithoparcus must have known *De modo bene cantandi*, for several of his 'Ten Precepts necessary for every Singer' are borrowed from Conrad's work. The six *praecepta* for the proper execution of psalmody prefaced to the Munich Psalter of 1537 attest to the general currency of the concepts defended in *De modo bene cantandi*.[6]

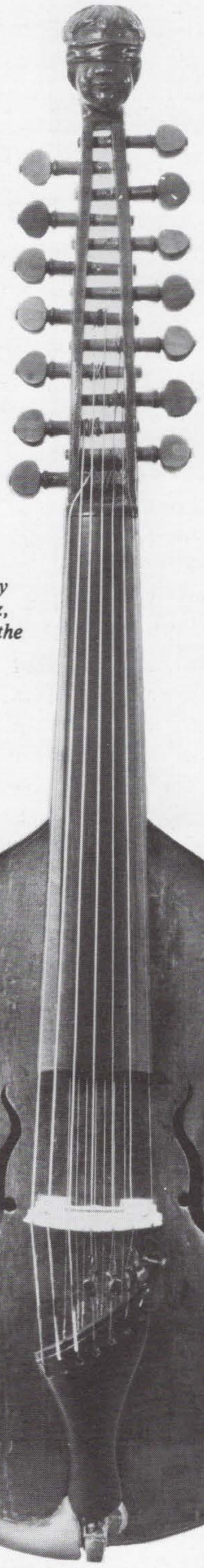
Rutgerus Sycamber adds a few interesting touches to the portrait of Conrad, whose doctrines he passes on in his own treatise. Conrad carried about with him on his journeys a *tabula*, presumably for teaching intervals and hexachord mutation, as well as the keyed monochord which was an integral part of his teaching method. This instrument (illustration below) is an adaptation of the keyboard mechanism of the clavichord to the single string of the monochord. The single moveable bridge of the monochord is replaced by individual keys and tangents, which sound each of the tones of the medieval gamut.[7] The exact date of Conrad's death is not known, but he seems to have passed from this life sometime around 1482.

Conrad codified his teaching in three complementary treatises. The *Novellus musicae artis tractatus* provides a basic introduction to music theory. The *Opusculum de monochordo* explains the use and the construction of Conrad's invention and favourite teaching device, the keyed monochord. It is mentioned in all three treatises and the author claims to have built several with his own hands. The third treatise, *De modo bene cantandi*, presupposes mastery of fundamental theory and singing skills, even though to us some of Conrad's criticisms may seem to be concerned with rather basic musical deficiencies. *De modo bene cantandi* was printed in 1474 in the workshop of Johann Fust and Peter Schoeffer the Elder at Mainz. Although neither printer nor place of publication is indicated in the original, a study of the type face used permitted identification of these two associates and successors to Gutenberg.[8] An anonymous monk of St Stephen's Abbey in Würzburg, where Conrad almost certainly communicated his teachings personally, translated *De modo bene cantandi* into German as *Lere von koergesanck*.[9] In the process he shortened some passages and added amplifying details to others.

De modo bene cantandi is entitled to an important place in music history as the first manual devoted to practical singing

A modern reconstruction of a keyed monochord such as the peripatetic Conrad may have used in his teaching (by J. C. Neupert)





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techniques.[10] It is not directed toward the professional soloist but rather to the singers of the monastic choir responsible for the performance of liturgical chant. Nevertheless, it does offer valuable information about qualities in the singing voice considered desirable at the close of the Middle Ages. One would need to review the medieval theoretical and ecclesiastical literature which mentions the voice just to appreciate how explicit Conrad's statements really are. Three-quarters of a century were to pass before the next treatise on the singing voice was published in the *Lettere* of the physician Giovanni Maffei.[11] This author's primary concern, however, is the Renaissance improvisation of *passaggi*. Describing vocal tone in words only is difficult enough, but the Middle Ages was hampered by an imperfect understanding of the physiology of the voice. Conrad's comparison of the voice with the pipes of an organ proves as much.

Since Conrad's principles are concerned with a music no longer on the growing edge of musical developments, they could conceivably be considered retrospective and outside the main stream entirely. In fact they parallel the *Instituta patrum de modo psallendi*, a compilation reflecting the strict Cistercian practice of the early 13th century.[12] Moreover, Conrad ignores completely the polyphonic music of his own time. Despite all of this, his ideas have more than a merely parochial value. The canons of vocal style which he expounds can speak for themselves even in the 20th century and one has no difficulty in imagining many of them applied to the polyphonic literature Conrad ignores. For the aesthetic attitude of the later Middle Ages toward the singing voice, *De modo bene cantandi* is obviously of unique significance.

Conrad von Zabern enumerates six requirements (*requisita*) for beautiful singing, the sixth of which (*satis urbaniter cantare*) he divides into ten separate points.[13] The complete text of this latter section is printed below with a parallel English translation. It was felt that this section held the greatest practical value for the modern performer. The first five sections are of considerable interest as well and will be summarized.

1. *Concorditer cantare*. For symbolic reasons the ideal of singing *una voce* had a powerful influence in the early Church. The tradition of unison singing remained lively throughout the Middle Ages, strengthened by the practical necessities of a predominantly monophonic literature.[14] Conrad alludes to the song of the angels and that of the three young men in the fiery furnace who, according to the Latin Vulgate, sang their canticle of praise 'quasi ex uno ore' (Dan. 3:51). He emphasizes the need for perfect ensemble, a need which some of his later suggestions address in specific terms.

2. *Mensuraliter cantare*. That every note in chant must be of equal length was frequently stressed in the later Middle Ages.[15] Polyphony had introduced not only proportional long and short values but also fluctuating tempi. A gloss to an anonymous treatise from the year 1279 noted that the upper voice in two-voice organum 'at one time [ascending?] is performed freely with considerable delay, at another time quickly in descending motion'.[16] It had become fashionable to treat chant like measured music, and prohibitions against this practice had to be repeated. According to Conrad undisciplined singers often used to distort the rhythmic shape of the phrase by lengthening high notes. Also under the rubric of *mensuraliter cantare* he forbids rests (*pausae*) except where these are specifically indicated—often in late medieval manuscripts by vertical strokes through the staff. Conrad also cautions each side of the choir to preserve a consistent tempo when singing alternate verses of a chant (hymn, sequence, *Gloria in excelsis*) 'praesertim dum non luditur in organis'.[17]

3. *Mediocriter cantare*. Conrad adds his voice to the oft-encountered prescription that chants should be pitched in the middle register, thus avoiding extremes of range for the choir. Within this general guideline a piece may be pitched higher or lower according to the feast or liturgical occasion, as the German translator of *De modo* adds. The time of day could also make a difference: higher pitches for Lauds, lower ones for Matins.[18]

4. *Differentialiter cantare*. Citing as a general principle a decree of the Council of Basel (1431-1449), Conrad recommends three tempi for chant according to the solemnity of the day: the more solemn and important the feast, the slower the tempo. On ordinary ferial days the legitimate demands of work dictate a more rapid mode of chanting. Conrad's disciple Rutgerus echoes his master in recommending various tempi according to the rank of the feast being celebrated. The earlier *Instituta patrum* offers parallel instructions for 'three kinds of melody', adding that the pauses between phrases are to be protracted on feast days.[19] The longer pauses presuppose a slower tempo, just as the shorter pauses require a faster one.[20] Naturally, much depends on the piece and common sense prevents us from turning Easter music into a lugubrious affair. As if to forestall this remote possibility, Conrad points out another facet of singing *differentialiter*: 'on festivities the singing, in order to display abundant gladness, ought to be higher and more joyful than on ferial days; still, a sense of moderation must be preserved'.[21] This recommendation implies an expressiveness which originates within the performer and does not depend exclusively on external devices for its effect. In terms of present-day conceptions the link between principal feasts and a slower tempo needs the most careful consideration. What is perhaps the most elegant formulation of the medieval aesthetic of the affections comes from the 9th-century *Musica Enchiriadis*, best known for its chapters on early organum. 'In peaceful subjects let the notes be peaceful, happy in joyous matters, grieving in sad ones; let cruel words or deeds be expressed with harsh sounds—sudden, loud and swift—shaped according to the nature of events and the emotions.'[22]

5. *Devotionaliter cantare*. Conrad pleads for the strictest adherence to the traditional ecclesiastical melodies. He is opposed to both melodic embellishment and improvised

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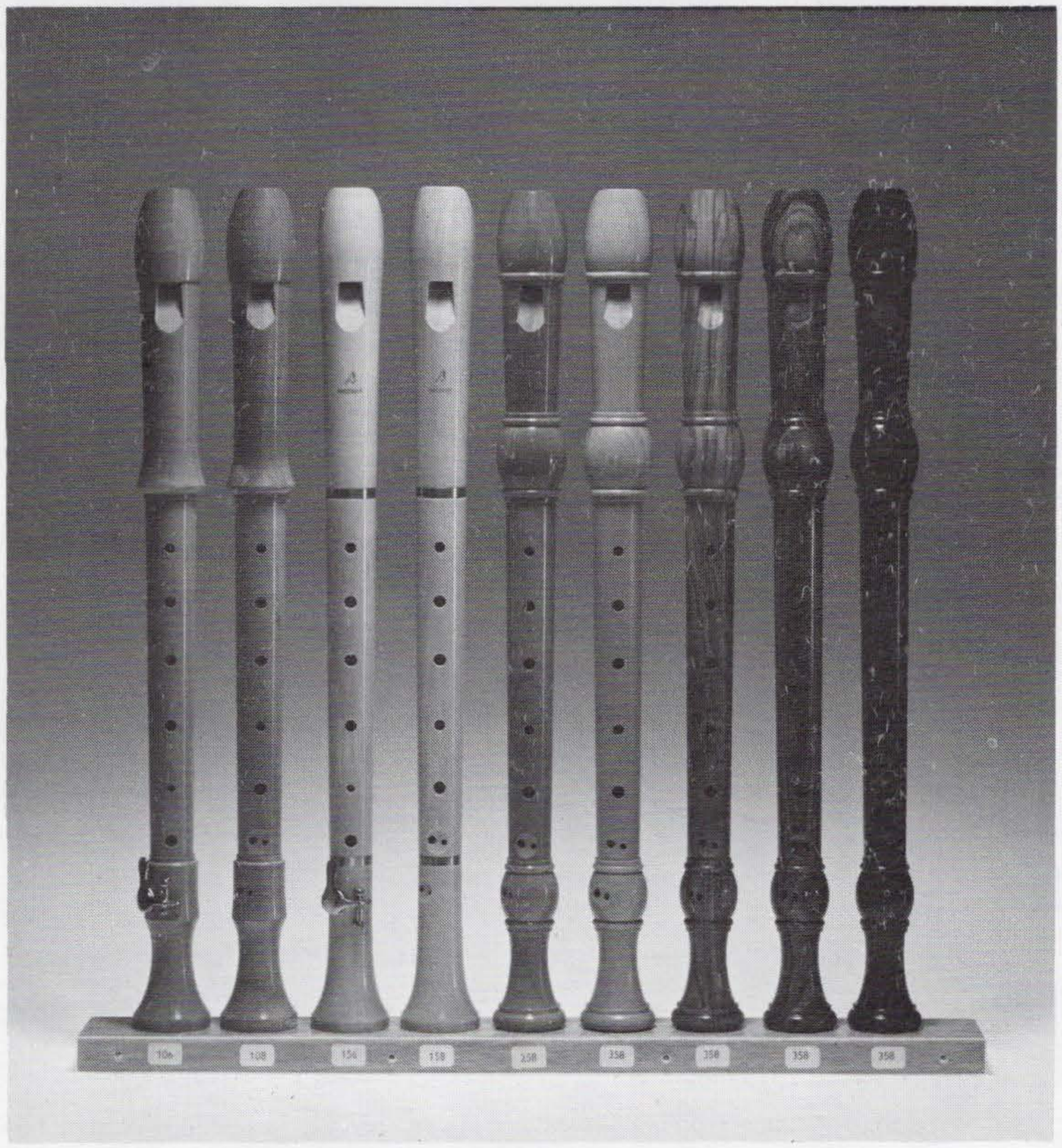

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descant.[23] This anti-polyphonic attitude is perfectly plausible for a churchman of Conrad's reforming goals, quite apart from any considerations of the generally conservative nature of German polyphonic practice in some quarters.[24] Conrad also denounces the introduction of secular tunes into sacred music, a practice he regards as the work of 'servants of the devil'. The German translator of *De modo* tells us that these diabolical agents 'mingle many kinds of songs, French pieces, things played upon the lute, German and Latin in the sacred rites of the Mass and Vespers as well as in the Little Hours. [They play] on the organ the string music of hussies and foolish virgins . . . poisoning the angelic song'.[25] Conrad says that these practices not only scandalize the faithful but also move youth and carnal men 'to think more of a dance hall than of the kingdom of heaven'.[26]

6. *Satis urbaniter cantare*. In this section Conrad contrasts several marks of 'civilized' singing with undesirable 'rustic' practices. Some of the latter seem to be rather rudimentary errors: nasal, out-of-tune and forced singing. Other comments give evidence of what Conrad considered to be the vocal tone quality of a proficient singer and his deportment in choir. This section is translated below.

The main body of the treatise is followed in some copies by two brief appendices: one on the proper execution of psalmody, the other offering advice on the chanting of readings in choir. Hardly any of the principles espoused by Conrad in *De modo bene cantandi* should be surprising. They are eminently reasonable and clearly described, insofar as this can be done by the printed word. Only Conrad's insistence on the *vox trivaria* (see p. 216 below), a differentiation in tone quality among low, middle and high registers after the unscaled pipes of the medieval organ may seem unusual. Nothing he says would incline the reader to believe that an imperceptible 'bridging over' of registers was a goal of Conrad's vocalism. It has been observed that Conrad's recommendations for the treatment of these three registers would facilitate an equality of volume throughout the range of the voice.[27] Any singer anxious to follow *De modo bene cantandi* on this point might anticipate a considerable re-training process.

De modo bene cantandi

Satis urbaniter cantare . . . est cantare seclusis rusticitatibus illis reprehensione dignis, de quibus infra dicetur, quae communiter et frequenter committuntur in cantando ab eis etiam, qui aliquid esse videntur prae aliis, immo nonnumquam etiam ab illis, qui praecedentia quinque inveniuntur observare, quod utique nota dignum est valde. Notandum ergo pro intellectu, quid nominis satis urbaniter, quantum huc deservit, quod quia urbs civitas dicitur et in civitatibus homines ut communiter sunt subtiliores quam in rure et villis, ideo urbanus ad propositum dicitur subtilis vel habilis. Hinc adverbium urbaniter. Satis urbaniter ergo cantare est cantare satis subtiliter sine rusticitate. Per litteram satis urbaniter itaque volo hic excludere omnem rusticitatem, maxime adhuc post praemissorum quinque requisitorum observationem commissibilem in cantando; quamdiu enim aliqua talis rusticitas committitur, revera non satis urbaniter, sed rusticaliter canitur. Et si huiusmodi rusticitates tot sint, quod omnes eas enumerare non possim, volo tamen potiores et notabiliores, quae et frequentius committuntur in bono numero, per ordinem enumerare et sufficienter declarare, ut quo magis fuerint cognitae, in futurum melius queant evitari; malum enim non evitatur nisi cognitum.

Antequam autem ad enumerationem huiusmodi rusticitatum procedam, hoc unum praeterire non debeo, scilicet quod, quia talismodi rusticitates plerique clerici in prava consuetudine habuerunt multo tempore, idcirco, si se ab his in futurum velint sufficienter retrahere et refrenare, valde necessaria erit eis consideratio sui, quae hic quasi fundamentum necessario exigitur. Si enim probatur, quia in

Singing with proper refinement means avoiding all that reprehensible coarseness (of which we will speak below) which is commonly and frequently practised in singing even by those with a certain reputation and by those who observe the five marks of good singing discussed previously. This fact we cannot pass over in silence. First of all, let us explain what we mean in this context by 'proper refinement'. *Urbs* is the word for city, and in the cities men are generally more discriminating than they are in the country or in villages, thus in this instance 'refined' means 'discriminating' or 'skilful'. Hence the adverb *urbaniter*. Singing with proper refinement is thus singing with discrimination and without coarseness. I would exclude from 'proper refinement' all coarseness in singing, particularly that which remains after the five requirements discussed previously have been observed; for as long as any coarseness remains the singing cannot be called refined, but coarse. There are so many of these crudities that I despair of enumerating all of them. Still, I would like to enumerate and explain in sufficient detail the most important, obvious and frequently committed ones, so that if they become better known they can in the future be more easily avoided. An evil unrecognized is avoided only with difficulty.

Before proceeding to an enumeration of coarseness of this type however, I ought not neglect to mention that for a long time a good many clerics have made of these errors a vicious habit. If they wish in the future to turn away and refrain from these practices, it will be absolutely necessary for them to note what are the fundamental principles to be observed. If it

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omnibus nostris agendis consideratio sui secundum beatum Bernhardum tam necessaria est, ut arbitretur sine illa neminem salvari posse, quanto magis in illo opere cantus ecclesiastici, cui secundum eundem nihil praeponere licet, cum etiam negligentia circa hoc opus maledictionem mereatur, ut patet Jeremia XLVIII, ubi sic scribitur: Maledictus, qui facit opus Dei negligenter. Debet ergo bene et satis urbaniter cantare volens se et vocem suam diligenter considerare et nusquam sine advertentia et inconsiderate cantare; tunc poterit eo melius nunc enumerandas rusticitates evitare.

Prima igitur rusticitas in cantando est ipsis vocalibus h adiungere, cum tamen canenda verba h in se non habent, quae quidem rusticitas communissima est maiori parti clericorum, ut negari non possit. Patet hoc apertissime cantando *Kyrie eleison*, ubi sine numero saepe canunt he he he ad instar carnificum mutones ad pascua ducentium. Patet etiam in multis aliis cantibus, ubi plerique millesies canunt ha ha, ho ho etc., cum tamen verba, quae cantantur, nullum h penitus habeant, quod haud dubium non est cantare satis urbaniter, sed nimis rusticaliter audemus dicere. Probatur autem hoc sic, nam h est aspirationis nota et ipsa asperitas contrariatur suavitati, quam cantus habere debet; verbum enim est spiritus sancti per os prophetae Michaeae II. cap.: Cantabitur canticum cum suavitate. Ab huiusmodi igitur aspirationibus cantum deturpantibus eiusque suavitatem auferentibus merito venit abstinendum etc.

Alia rusticitas est per nares cantare, quod ideo merito cavendum est, quia vocem utique absonam reddit. Cum igitur inter omnia naturalia instrumenta ad formationen humanae vocis requisita nares nusquam connumerentur, non parva rusticitas est, quod quis ore et aliis naturalibus instrumentis non contentus vocem per nares emittit, unde tamen non melius, sed deterius sonare comprobatur, prout nullus dubitat, qui rectum de hoc novit habere iudicium.

Alia rusticitas in cantando est vocales non satis distincte sub proprio earum sono vociferare; hoc enim reddit cantum quoad verba minus intelligibilem audientibus, cum nimirum confusa et vix perceptibilis vocum differentia intelligentiam adiuvat non mediocriter. In hoc plerique clerici inveniuntur culpabiles, qui, quasi pulmentum in ore haberent, cantantes parvam inter e et i ac inter o et u nec non inter syllabas ex eisdem vocalibus compositas facere solent differentiam, ita ut audiverim aliquos cantantes: dominos vabiscom, aremus, ut ego dicerem ad mihi proximiores: Absit a nobis arare. Et revera a Francfordia usque ad Confluentiam et ab inde usque ad Treverim notavi hoc praecipue in scolaribus saepissime, quod omnem eorum cantum deturpant per hoc, quod e et i vocales minus bene et non satis distincte vociferare solent, ut mihi saepe displicentiam non parvam generaret. A qua rusticitate merito eorum rectores eos compescere deberent in dies, ne hanc usque ad senium continuarent.

Alia rusticitas est, quod unius vocalis sonus sub pluribus quibus subicitur notis continuandus non in sua identitate servatur, sed mutatur sive variatur, quod utique nimis male

is granted that in all of our undertakings a consideration of their purpose is so necessary that, as St Bernard believes, no one is saved without it, how much more necessary is this consideration in the work of sacred chant which, according to this same holy man, is to be preferred before all things.[28] Its neglect deserves condemnation, as it is written in Jeremiah: 'A curse on him who is slack in doing the Lord's work' (48:10). Therefore, whoever wishes to sing well and with proper refinement should control his voice carefully and never sing inattentively or thoughtlessly—all the better to avoid the errors we are about to discuss.

The first error committed in singing is the addition of *h* before a vowel in a word which has no *h*. It cannot be denied that this error is most common among the majority of clerics. It is most evident in the singing of *Kyrie eleison* in which we hear 'he, he, he' just like the sound made by butchers driving sheep to pasture. It occurs in many other chants in which the majority sing 'ha, ha, ho, ho', etc, even though the word being sung has no *h* at all. This is not elegant singing, and we can say without fear of contradiction that it is very coarse. The proof of this fact is that *h* is an aspirate sound and its asperity is just the reverse of that sweetness which a melody ought to have. Behold the word of the Holy Spirit in the mouth of the prophet Micah: 'A song will be sung with sweetness'.[29] This kind of aspiration which so disfigures a chant and robs it of all sweetness is rightly to be avoided.

Another error is singing through the nose. This too should be guarded against since it makes the voice unpleasant. Since in any listing of the natural organs necessary for the production of the human voice the nose is never mentioned, it is not a slight error for someone, not content with the mouth and the other natural organs, to produce his voice through the nose. No one who is capable of judging will think that this sounds better; on the contrary, it sounds worse.

Another error in singing results from not singing the syllables clearly and with the proper vowel sound. This makes the chant less intelligible to the listeners, since a confused and scarcely perceptible vowel differentiation is of little help towards intelligibility. Very many clerics are guilty of this: they act as if they had food in their mouths. While singing they make only a small differentiation between *e* and *i*, or between *o* and *u*, or between different syllables having the same vowel sound. Thus I have heard some sing 'Dominos vabiscom, aremus', and I said to my neighbours: 'Far be it from us to go aploughing!'[30] Indeed, from Frankfurt to Koblenz and as far as Trier I have noticed this very often, especially in students. They all distort the chant, inclined as they are to pronounce the vowels *e* and *i* poorly and without sufficient differentiation—a situation which has not infrequently caused me much displeasure. Their masters ought to restrain them from this error forthwith, lest they perpetuate it into old age.[31]

Another error consists in not maintaining the identity of a vowel but changing it during the course of a melisma. This cannot but sound very bad, yet this error is common among

Mary as Protectress with Angels *by the Master of the Albrecht Altar, 1438/9 (Stift Klosterneuburg, Kunstsammlung)*

sonat. Et est tamen haec rusticitas ita communis multis ecclesiasticis personis, quod derisione digna foret, et cotidie sufficienter patet diligenter advertentibus, et facile est de hoc dare exempla in magna copia.

Alia rusticitas non parum odisa est declinatio a rectitudine vocis per dissonantiam ascensivam vel descensivam, quarum utraque tanto est detestabilior, quo fuerit notabilior, quia non parum perturbativa est cantus choralis; totum enim, quod ab aliis cantando bene agitur, confundit sicut una dissonans chorda totius clavichordii sonum. Et qui hunc defectum habuerit notabilem, consultius totaliter sileret quam cantaret, quousque hunc remediari procuraret, quod nec negligere deberet, quamdiu de remedio spes esset. Quem defectum ego in nonnullis remediavi.

Alia rusticitas est cum impetu sive violentia vocem emittere vel extorquere; hoc enim ideo satis est rusticum, quia suavitati cantus non parum est contrarium, de qua suavitate praeallegatum est verbum Michaeae prophetae: Cantabitur canticum cum suavitate. Et revera novi personas prae aliis in cantu instructas, quae tamen omnem eorum cantum per hanc rusticitatem a laude alienum reddiderunt, licet eis videretur, quod bene cantarent, nimirum quia numquam eis est insinuatum, quantum haec rusticitas sit reprehensibilis et quam merito vitanda etc.

Alia rusticitas prae ceteris notabilior est in acutis sive altioribus notis cantus plena arteria sive forti et valida voce cantare, quod prae aliis supra commemoratis nimis est indiscretum, ut mox infra satis patebit. Et quando hoc fit a personis tubales sive grossas voces habentibus, nimium perturbat et confundit totius chori cantum, sicut si quaedam bovinae voces inter cantantium voces audirentur. Et audivi tamen in quodam notabili collegio, quod cantores tubales voces habentes validissimis vocibus iuxta omnes vires suas in acutis sive in altioribus cantabant, quasi chori fenestras rumpere vellent cantando vel saltem movere, ut ego non parum de eorum admirarer ruditate utque moverer ad faciendum hunc rigmum: Ut boves in pratis, sic vos in choro boatis. Quo rigmo familiariter in actibus meis sive lectionibus de modo bene cantandi deridere omnes valida voce cantare praesumentes in acutis, ut amplius discant suam indiscretam rusticitatem agnoscere et post agnitionem ab hac studeant resilire.

Pro hac ergo rusticitate plenius agnoscenda est sciendum, quod quilibet discrete et bene cantare volens debet sua voce uti trivarie, hoc modo scilicet: grossius sive tubalius in gravibus, id est inferioribus notis, et medio modo in mediis, et subtilius in acutis, id est altioribus notis, et hoc magis magisque, quo cantus altius vadit. Qui secus agit, indiscrete se habet in cantando, sit qualiscumque aut quantuscumque. Et sunt tamen innumerabiles ecclesiasticae personae hanc indiscretionem quasi pro regula servantes in cantando. Penset autem quisque, quam bene et rationaliter dixerim de illa trivaria vocis diversitate in cantando servanda. Nam novit quisque alicuius intelligentiae, quod organum, sive

clerical singers. It is a practice worthy of contempt, yet it is daily evident to the careful observer. Many examples of it could be furnished.[32]

There is another defect which is particularly offensive and deviates from correct vocalism: a lack of uniformity in ascending and descending pitches. This is more detestable the more obvious it is, because it is not a little disturbing to the choral singing of the chant. It ruins whatever is sung well by others, just as a single out-of-tune string ruins the tuning of the clavichord. Whoever has this conspicuous defect ought considerately to remain silent rather than sing—at least while he tries to remedy it. This fault should not be neglected as long as there is any hope of amelioration. I myself have corrected it in many people.[33]

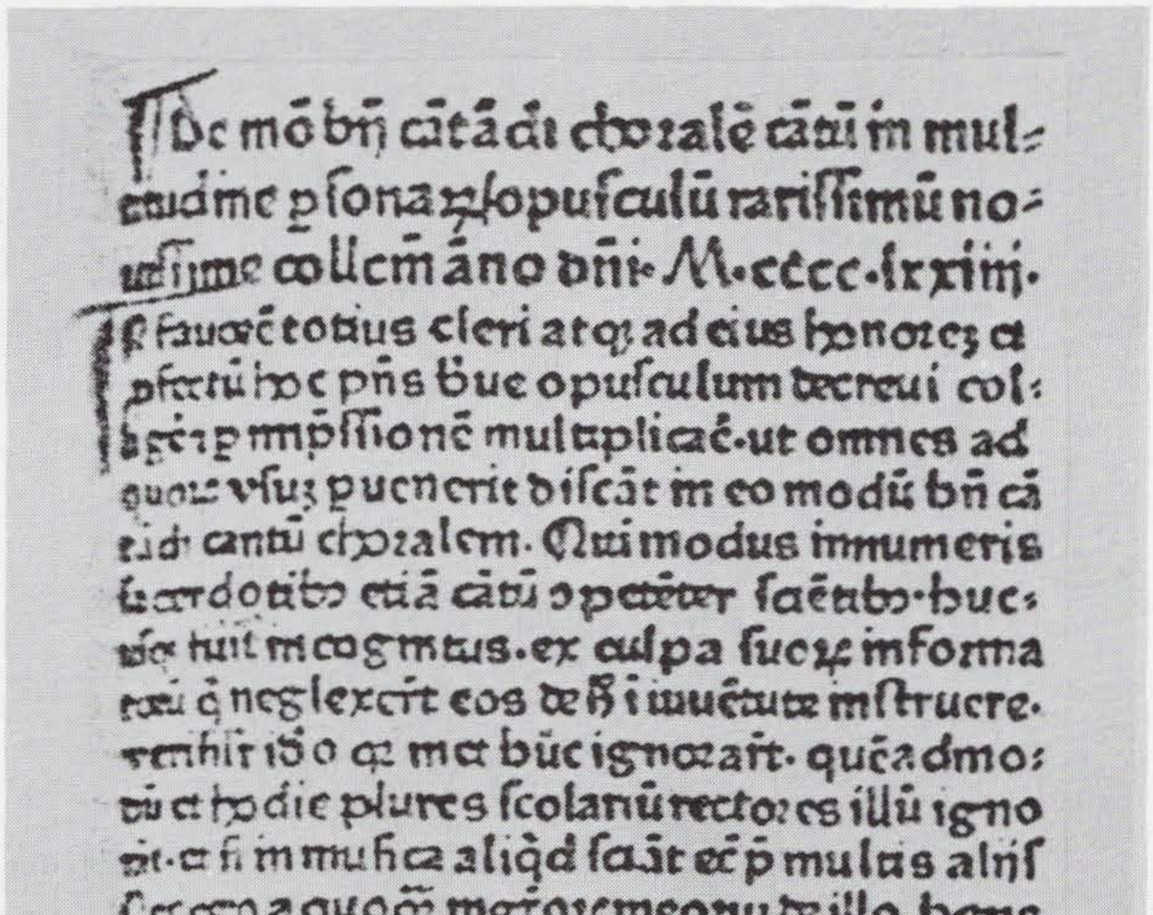
Still another fault is a vocal production characterized by excessive forcing. This is indeed coarse for it is not a little contrary to sweetness of song, concerning which we have already cited the words of the prophet Micah: 'A song will be sung with sweetness'. Truly I know people better instructed than others in chant who nevertheless render all their singing unworthy of praise by this very defect. Though it appears to them that they are singing well, this is just because no one has suggested to them how offensive this fault really is, and how much to be avoided.

Another fault which is more obvious than the others is singing high notes with an unstintingly full and powerful voice. This is even more careless than what we have cited above, as will soon become evident. When this shouting is done by individuals with resonant and trumpet-like voices it disturbs and confuses the singing of the entire choir, just as if the voices of cattle were heard among the singers. In a certain eminent collegiate establishment I once heard singers with these trumpet-like voices singing with all their strength in the highest register as if they wished to break the windows of the choir, or at least to shake them. As I marvelled not a little at their coarseness, I was moved to make up this rhyme:

In choir you bellow
Like cows in the meadow!

I use this jingle in an informal fashion in my efforts and teaching regarding the art of good singing in order to ridicule all those presuming to sing loudly in the high register, to the end that they might recognize their careless crudeness and, after recognizing it, zealously desist from it.

In order to recognize this error completely it must be realized that whoever wishes to sing well and clearly must employ his voice in three ways: resonantly and trumpet-like for low notes, moderately in the middle range and more delicately for the high notes—the more so the higher the chant ascends. Whosoever does otherwise is careless in his singing, and yet there are innumerable ecclesiastics who make this error a primary rule of their singing. Let everyone consider how well and reasonably I have spoken of that threefold diversity to be observed in singing. Anyone of any intelligence knows that an organ, whether large, moderate or



De modo bene cantandi. *The first page of the original edition (Mainz, 1474)*

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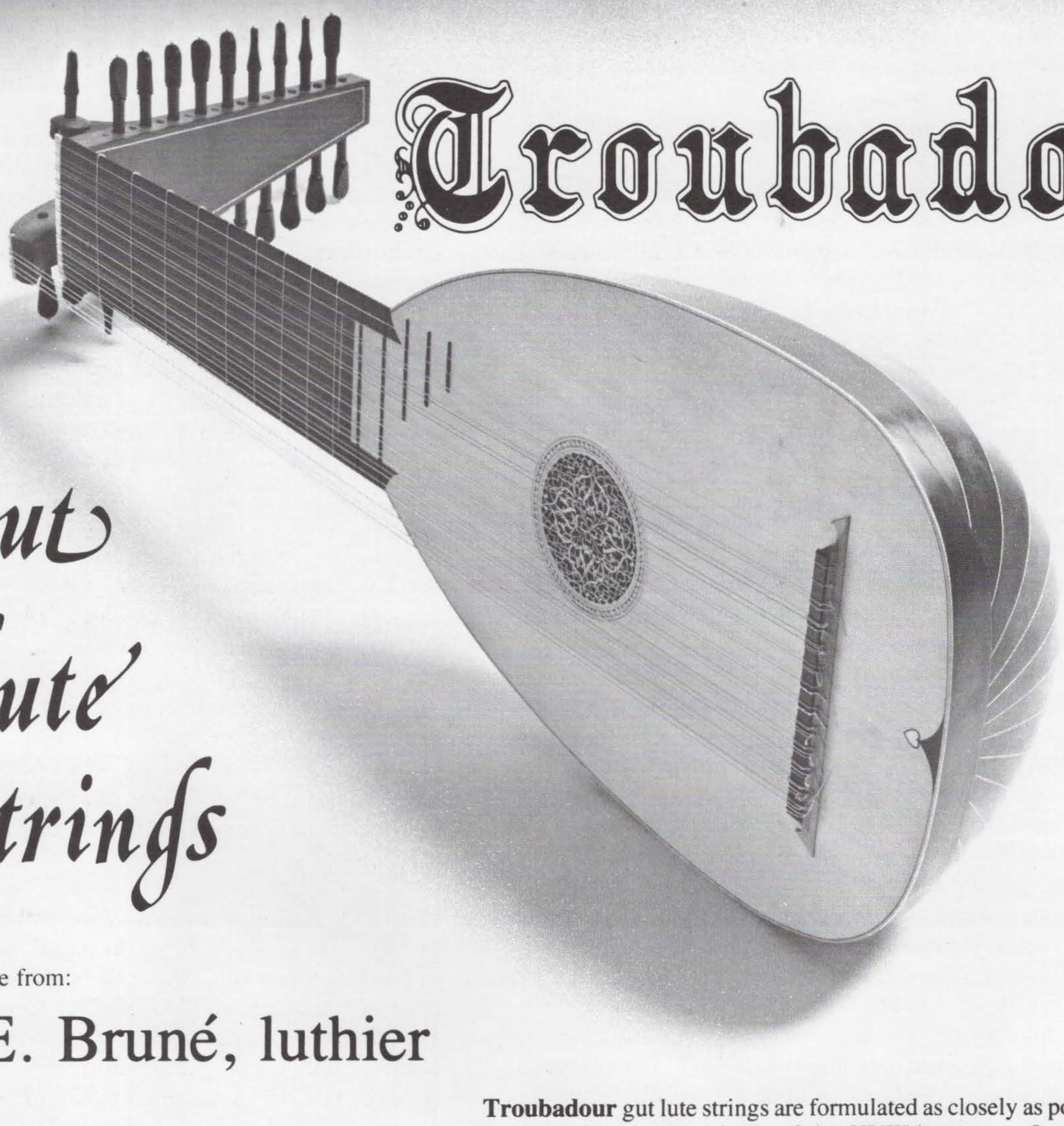

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magnum sit sive mediocre sive parvum, triplices habet cannas sive fistulas, scilicet magnas, mediocres, et parvas. Magnae inferiores notas cantus resonant, mediae medias, et parvae superiores sive altiores cantus notas. Quarum cannarum sive fistularum quam trivarius sit sonus, grossus scilicet, mediocris, et gracilis sive subtilis, novit quisque intelligens. Cum autem homo non nisi unam arteriam habeat, per quam vox vadit, quae supplere habet illarum diversarum cannarum organi vices, iam scilicet magnarum, iam quanta indiscretio erit hoc velle facere uniformi vocis suae usu, cum tamen sic nullam correspondentiam habeat vox hominis ad tam diversarum cannarum organi sonum trivarium, scilicet ut praemissum est.

Capiamus aliud exemplum in chorda monochordi, quae unica existens et eiusdem quantitatis in superiori parte et inferiori triplicem tamen sonum reddit, inferius scilicet grossiorem, in medio mediocrem, et superius multum graciliorem sive subtiliorem. Cur non ergo ad imitationem illius chordae homo trivarie vocem suam inflecteret, cum tamen ipsum monochordum optimum sit instrumentum ad docendum et discendum per ipsum cantum ecclesiasticum? Caveat ergo quisque irreprehensibiliter cantare volens, ne ultra in futurum plena et plena et valida voce in acutis, id est altioribus notis, cantare praesumat, quia hoc primo cantum ipsum deformat et secundo cantantem inaniter gravat et fatigat ac tertio ipsum cito facit raucum et per consequens ad cantandum ineptum. Arteria enim hominis delicata est et faciliter laeditur, quando violentatur, quod utique fit, quando in acutis valida voce cantatur; laesione autem facta mox sequitur raucedo, sicut quisque in se experitur. E contrario vero, cum quis voce subtiliata canit in acutis, vox debitam habet correspondentiam ad gracilem sonum tam parvarum cannarum organi quam superioris partis chordae ipsius monochordi. Item secundo sine fatigatione tunc canit. Item tertio haud dubium multo altius sic cantare poterit quam plena et valida voce ullo modo posset, ut sic in cantibus notabilis altitudinis possit chorum fideliter et bene iuvare sine gravamine et sine raucedinis incursione, quod valida voce non esset possibile.

Alia rusticitas est ea, quae sibi correspondere debent, sine correspondentia incipiendo cantare, maxime ubi et quando commode servari posset correspondentia sine chori gravamine. Gratia exempli *Kyrie eleison* cum sibi ascripto *Gloria in excelsis* atque *Et in terra* debent correspondenter cantari. Cur aliunde isti *Kyrie* hoc *Gloria* et aliis alia in libris cantualibus sunt ascripta? Cum modo finito *Kyrie* ultimo celebrans incipit *Gloria* impertinenter ad melodiam ipsius *Kyrie*, quando tamen sine eius et chori gravamine posset id facere correspondenter, revera rusticum est. Et tamen sine numero saepe audivi etiam apud reformatos religiosos, quod finito *Kyrie* ultimo celebrans pro capite suo, quasi *Kyrie* non audivisset, incepit *Gloria in excelsis* sine ulla correspondentia suae melodiae ad praecedentem ipsius *Kyrie*, quodque cantor chori non minus indiscrete pro libito suo *Et in terra* incepit impertinenter ad *Gloria*, quasi illud non audivisset cantari a celebrante, ut revera per hoc plus semel impedirer in

small in size has three kinds of pipes: large, medium and small. The large pipes sound the lower notes of the chant, the medium-size ones the middle notes, and the little ones the upper notes of the chant. Everyone who understands this knows how the sound (resonant, medium, and high-pitched or delicate) of these tubes or pipes can be said to be threefold. Since, however, a man has only a single windpipe through which the voice passes, which must supply for the diversity of the many organ pipes, some large and some small, how mistaken it would be to attempt to imitate this diversity by a uniform use of the voice. The human voice is not the equivalent of the threefold sound of the pipes of the organ, as mentioned above.[34]

Let us take another example from the string of the monochord. Though it is single and of the same size throughout its length, it still produces a threefold sound: resonant in the low register, moderate in the middle range and very light and delicate in the upper register. Why then should not a man model his voice in threefold fashion after this string, since the monochord is in itself the best instrument for teaching and learning ecclesiastical chant? Therefore, let him who wishes to sing flawlessly never again presume to sing with a full and strong voice in the upper register, for this disfigures the chant, pointlessly weighs down and fatigues the singer, makes him hoarse and consequently useless for singing. The human throat is delicate and easily injured when it is abused, as it is by loud singing in the upper register. The harm having been done, hoarseness soon ensues. Everyone has experienced this personally. But on the other hand, when one sings with a delicate tone in the upper register the voice then corresponds to the high-pitched sound of the small pipes of the organ, as well as to the upper range of the monochord. In this fashion one can also sing without fatigue and can sing higher than would ever be possible with full voice. Thus in chants of unusually high range one can help the choir dependably and well without either injury or hoarseness—something which is not possible when using full voice.

Another error consists in beginning without a proper relationship [chants] which should bear such a relationship, especially when this relationship can be preserved without inconvenience to the choir.[35] For example, *Kyrie eleison* and its assigned *Gloria in excelsis/Et in terra* ought to be sung with such a relationship. For what other reason are certain *Kyries* assigned to certain *Glorias* and other [*Kyries*] to other [*Glorias*]? When, after the final *Kyrie*, the celebrant begins the *Gloria* heedless of the melody of the *Kyrie* (though he could have easily, without inconvenience to himself or to the choir taken note of it) this is really unrefined. And yet, time and again, even among reformed religious congregations, I have heard the celebrant, as if he had not heard the *Kyrie*, intone the beginning of the *Gloria* without making his melody correspond with that of the preceding *Kyrie*. In turn, the cantor of the choir with no less carelessness begins according to his own good pleasure *Et in terra*, just as if he had not heard the

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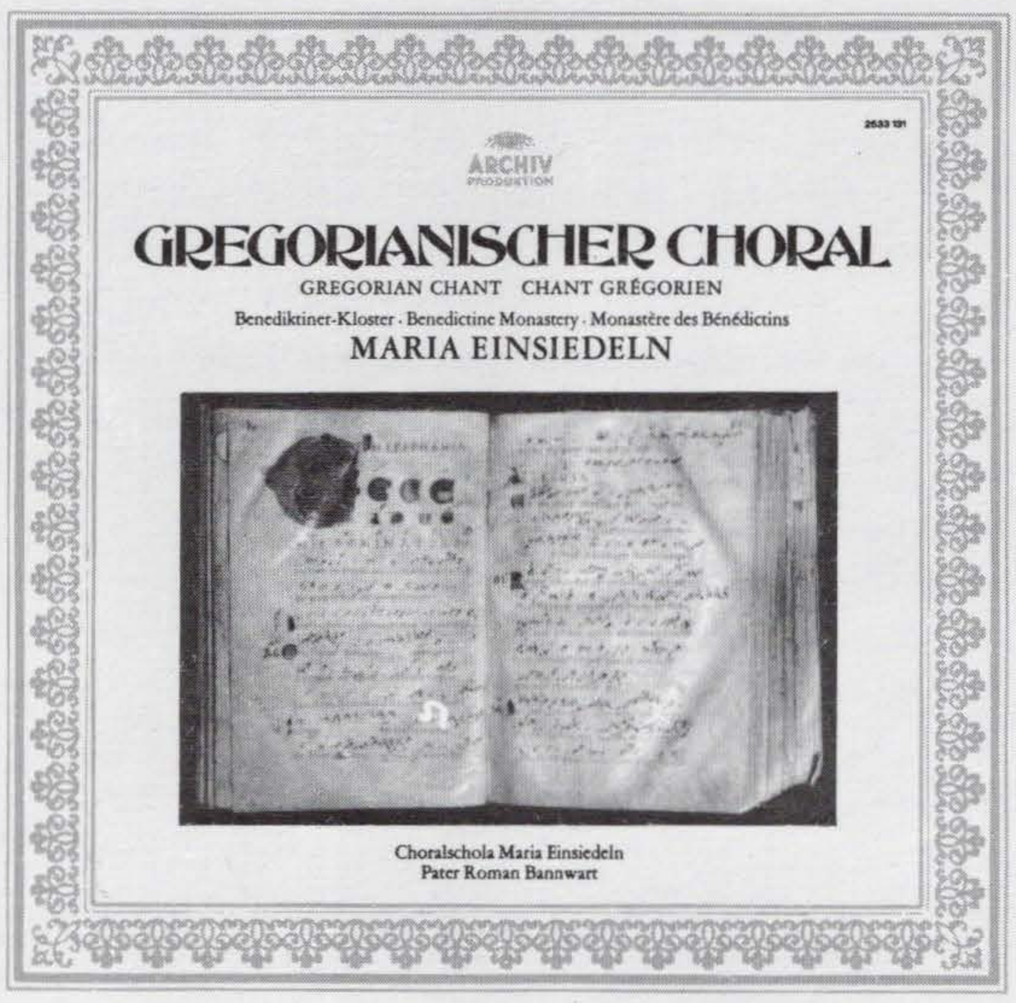

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oratione movererque nonnumquam ad cogitandum vel etiam dicendum:

Quales grobiani
Sunt isti monachi!

Aliud exemplum capiamus: Prima pars antiphonae, quae praemittitur ante ipsius psalmi intonationem, et ipsa psalmi intonatio sive inceptio secundum toni cantandi exigentiam debent etiam, quando commode fieri potest, correspondentiam habere. Cur aliunde ordinatum esset de praemittenda primae antiphonae particula ante psalmi incohationem? Quando modo psalmum incipiens indifferenter ad fortunam hoc facit sine correspondentia ad antiphonae particulam praemissam sive ad eius melodiam, rusticitas est non immerito deridenda.

Alia rusticitas est cantare somnolenter et minus vivaciter ac sine affectu quasi vetula morti propinqua, quod ipsum cantum debita privat iucunditate facitque, ut minus audiatur utque plus gemitus quam cantus habeat rationem. Contra sic cantantes dicit beatus Bernhardus *Super cantica* in sermone, ubi de ecclesiastico loquitur cantu: Sicut reverenter, ita et alacriter domino assistatis, non pigri, non somnolenti, non oscitantes, non parcentes vocibus. Et mox infra: sed virili, ut dignum est, et sonitu et affectu voces sancti spiritus depromentes. Haec ille. Ecce, quomodo vivaciter, affectuose, et satis iucunde cantandum est, ne in aliam extremitatem incidatur, ita ut aliis nimis excessive, ut praedictum est, vociferantibus, alii sic cantent, ut vix audiatur. Et sic verificetur proverbium antiquum: Zu lutzel und zu vil verderbt al spil. Medium autem tenuere beati.

Alia et ultima pro nunc enumeranda rusticitas est in cantando ineptos mores habere, ut gratia exempli non fixe stare, sed se hinc inde movere, vel caput nimis in altum tollere aut in alterum latus illud notabiliter inclinare vel ipsum manu sustenare aut os in alteram maxillam incurvare vel ipsum nimis ample aperire. Et sic aliis multis morum ineptiis, quas per omnia enumerare nimis esset taediosum, quae ideo sunt vitandae, ne aspicientes ad risum provocent, qui per cantum ad devotionem moveri debebant. Et tantum de illis rusticitatibus, quas hic per sextum et ultimum ad bene cantandum requisitorum volo excludere et exclusas haberi.

Sic igitur totaliter nunc sunt per ordinem expedita, quae a principio assumpsi pertractanda et declaranda, quae utinam sic a legentibus hoc compendium corde capiantur, ut curent in dies melius quam hucusque cantare, sicut tamen nunc per haec praesentia scripta magis ac plenius sunt instructi quam umquam hucusque fuere de modo bene cantandi, quem non parvo labore ad hunc ordinem et tam clarum stilum propter simplices redegi ad communem profectum ecclesiasticum cupiens, ut pro me, Conrado de Zabern, exorent altissimum omnes, qui his meis laboribus gaudebunt in futurum. Amen.

Gloria sung by the celebrant. Indeed, I have been disturbed in prayer more than once by this, and I have been moved to think or even to say: 'What clods these monks are!'[36]

Let us take another example. The first part of the antiphon, which precedes the intonation of the psalm tone, and the intonation itself according to the requirements of singing the tones ought to bear a [pitch] relationship—since this can be done conveniently. Why should the fragment of the first antiphon prefaced to the beginning of the psalm be governed by some other principle? When the psalm is simply begun haphazardly and without any reference to the preceding antiphon fragment or to its melody this is a coarse practice which justly deserves condemnation.

Another error is singing sleepily and lifelessly and without affection, like a poor old woman on the brink of the grave. This deprives the chant of the joy appropriate to it, and as it is less well heard it seems to be more of a moan than a chant. In opposition to people who sing this way blessed Bernard, treating of ecclesiastical chant in his sermon on the *Song of Songs*, says: 'Reverently and promptly you should stand before the Lord; be not lazy, or sleepy, or bored, and spare not your voices.' Again he says: 'Sound forth the words of the Holy Spirit with a virile sound and affection, as befits them.'[37] Behold how animatedly, affectively and with what great joy singing should be done, lest we fall into yet another extreme: some shouting loudly, while others can scarcely be heard. The old proverb rings true: 'Either too little or too much ruins the game.' Happy those who hew to the golden mean!

The last error to be mentioned at this time is singing with inappropriate deportment: not standing straight but moving back and forth, holding the head up too high or noticeably to one side, resting the head on the hand and either distorting the mouth or opening it too widely. It would be tedious to enumerate all the other kinds of inappropriate behaviour which are to be avoided for the simple reason that they provoke laughter in the beholder, who ought rather to be moved to devotion by the chant. Still, I wish to prevent and have prevented these errors which have been mentioned here under the sixth and last requisite for beautiful singing.[38]

Thus every topic has been covered which I took upon myself to mention and discuss. Now if only this compendium would be taken to heart by its readers so that they might take care to sing better than they have until now. They are by the present essay better instructed in the art of beautiful singing than has ever before been the case. It required not a little labour to present this information clearly and in an orderly fashion so that it could be understood by the untutored (desirous as I was that the entire church should benefit). I beseech all who are pleased with my labours in the future that they pray to the Almighty for me, Conrad of Zabern. Amen.

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The revised edition of *De modo bene cantandi* published in 1509 closes with this note: 'The Art of Singing choral chant beautifully with a throng resounding the praise of God, written by Magister Jakob [*sic*] of Zabern. It was taught publicly by him while he was yet alive in the collegiate and cathedral churches of Basel, Strassburg, Speyer, Worms, Mainz and Würzburg, as well as in other places along the Rhine. It was received favourably by all who heard it. It appears in this edition revised by Florentius Diel of Speyer, who saw and heard the author's lectures; printed by Frideric Hewman at Mainz, the third day of November in the year of our Lord 1509.'

[1] Biographical information has been gathered together by Karl-Werner Gümpel in his edition of Conrad's musical writings, *Die Musiktraktate Conrads von Zabern*. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur: Abhandlung der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse, Jg. 1956, Nr. 4 (Mainz, 1956). The present translation is based on this edition of *De modo bene cantandi*, pp. 127-136. I am indebted to Professor Gümpel for the photograph of the keyed monochord which accompanies this translation and for directing my attention to the treatise of Rutgerus Sycamber of Venray. I would also like to thank Howard Mayer Brown for suggestions on an earlier version of the introduction to this translation.

[2] Edited by Joseph Smits van Waesberghe in the series Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, Heft 22 (Köln, 1957). Despite its interesting title, this treatise contains little of practical value—unless one is interested in the singing of good and bad angels, of the Holy Trinity, or of the blessed souls in heaven!

[3] Edited by Fritz Soddemann as *Dialogus de Musica*, Beiträge zur Rheinischen Musikgeschichte, Heft 54 (Köln, 1963). Rutgerus makes very clear references to passages in *De modo bene cantandi*.

[4] See the interesting discussion in Franz Müller-Heuser, *Vox Humana: Ein Beitrag zur Untersuchung der Stimmästhetik des Mittelalters*, Kölner Beiträge zur Musikforschung, Bd. 26 (Regensburg, 1963), pp. 82-116. The author has accumulated a very useful selection of medieval references to the voice, though one might occasionally take exception to the inferences drawn from them: he certainly misconstrues (p. 117) what Arnulph intends by citing the singing of the mythical sirens. cf *De differentiis et generibus cantorum* in Martin Gerbert, *Scriptores Ecclesiastici de Musica Sacra Potissimum* (St Blasien, 1784), III, 318a. Hereinafter the Gerbert collection will be identified as *GS* with the volume number and page.

[5] *Musice active micrologus* (Leipzig, 1517), lib. IV, cap. viii. The translation above is by John Dowland and was published in 1609. Both have been reprinted in facsimile as *A Compendium of Musical Practice* (New York, 1973) with an introduction by Gustave Reese and Steven Ledbetter; see pp. 105 and 208 of this edition.

[6] Reprinted in Karl Gustav Fellerer, 'Regeln des Choralvortrags aus dem 16. Jahrhundert', *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, XXXIV (1950), pp. 105-7.

[7] For a discussion of the instrument see Karl-Werner Gümpel, 'Das Tastenmonochord Conrads von Zabern', *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, XII (1955), 143-166. There is a 15th-century illustration of a fully chromatic keyed monochord in Joseph Smits van Waesberghe, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, Bd. III: *Musik des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, Lieferung 3, *Musikerziehung* (Leipzig, 1969), pp. 164-5. A much smaller reproduction of this drawing may be seen in Jeremy Montagu, *The World of Medieval and Renaissance Musical Instruments* (London, 1976), plate 42. Mr Montagu can hardly be correct, however, in regarding this late addition to the *Liber Notabilis Musicae* of Johannes Gallicus as 'the first stage of the conversion of the monochord into the clavichord'. It may further be noted that there exists no positive correlation between this treatise and the illustration of the keyed monochord appended to it. If the late Edward Ripin was correct in equating the clavichord with the elusive

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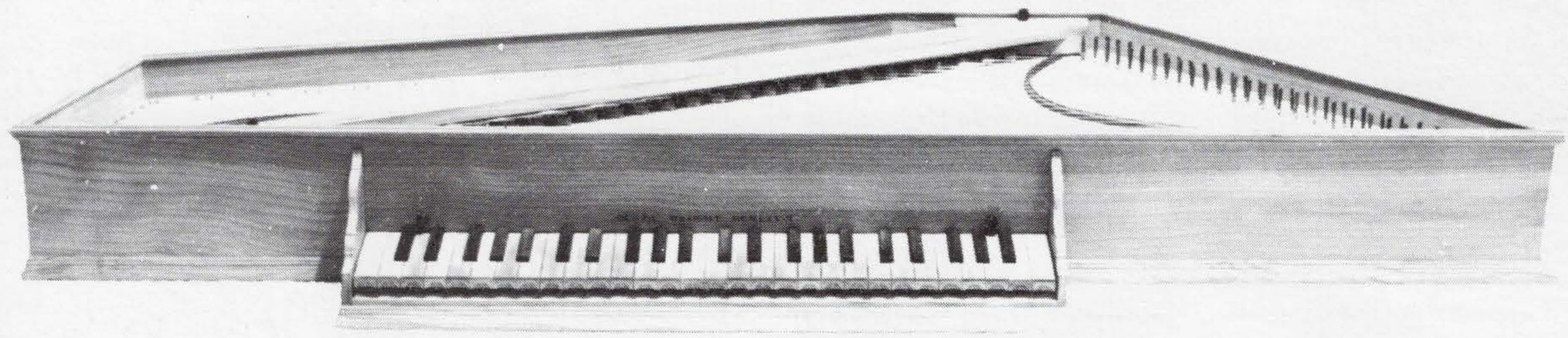

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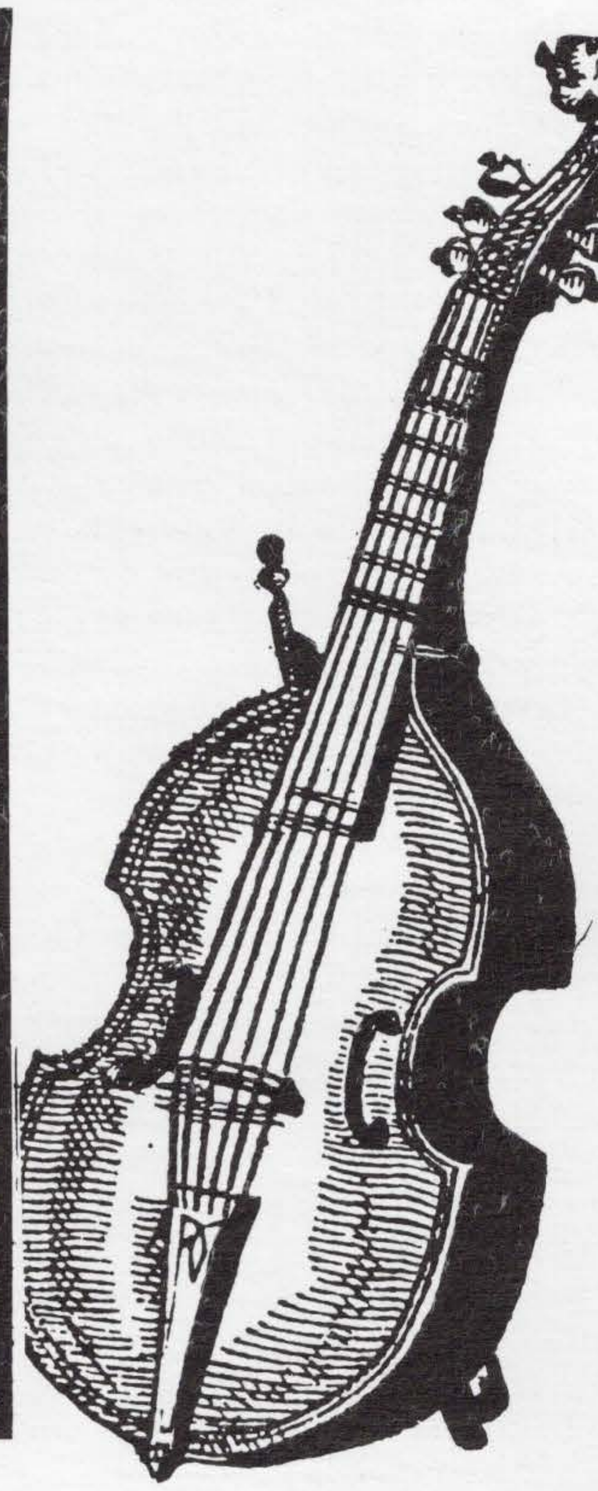

'chekker' first mentioned in 1360, it would mean that the tangent and keyboard mechanism was applied to a multi-stringed instrument at least a century before Conrad's application to the monochord. 'Towards an Identification of the Chekker', *Galpin Society Journal*, XXVIII (1975), pp. 11-25.

[8] See Gümpel ed., p. 33. The treatise received a second edition (1509) in a revision by Florentius Diel; his postscript can be found at the end of the present translation.

[9] Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek Ms. M ch q 128; for a complete description of this manuscript see Gümpel ed., pp. 36-7.

[10] The earlier *Ritus canendi vetustissimus et novus* by Johannes Gallicus (1415-1473) does not deliver what its title might suggest. The *Ritus* is available in Edmond de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi Nova Series* (Paris, 1864), IV, 298-344. Hereinafter identified as *CS*.

[11] It is found in *Delle lettere del Signore Giovanni Camillo Maffei da Solofra Libri due* (Naples, 1562). For a modern edition of this treatise see Nanie Bridgman, 'Giovanni Camillo Maffei et sa lettre sur le chant', *Revue de Musicologie*, XXXVIII (1956), pp. 3-34. A recent brief study of 16th-century florid song is David Galliver, 'Cantare con la gorga—The Coloratura Technique of the Renaissance Singer', *Studies in Music* 7 (1973), pp. 10-18.

[12] *GS* I, 5-8. An English translation can be found in Dom Alphege Shebbeare, *Choral Recitation of the Divine Office* (Toledo, Ohio: Gregorian Institute of America, 1954), Appendix. On the dating of the treatise see S. J. P. van Dijk, 'St Bernard and the *Instituta Patrum* of St Gall', *Musica Disciplina*, IV (1950), pp. 99-109.

[13] The entire treatise has been summarized by Julius Richter, 'Zwei Schriften von Conrad von Zabern', *Monatshefte für Musikgeschichte*, XX (1888), pp. 95-106. *De modo bene cantandi* was considered briefly in relation to the history of singing by Bernhard Ulrich, *Die Grundsätze der Stimmbildung während der A Capella-Periode und zur Zeit des Aufkommens der Oper: 1474-1640* (Leipzig, 1910). An English translation of this book by John W. Seale is entitled *Concerning the Principles of Voice Training During the A Capella Period and Until the Beginning of Opera: 1474-1640* (Minneapolis, 1973). See also Müller-Heuser, *Vox Humana . . .*, pp. 105-116.

[14] Johannes Quasten, *Musik und Gesang in den Kulten der heidnischen Antike und christlichen Frühzeit* (Münster in Westf., 1930), pp. 91-102; quotations from the *Instituta patrum* in Müller-Heuser, *Vox Humana . . .*, pp. 167-73.

[15] Cf. Jerome of Moravia: 'Omnis cantus planus et ecclesiasticus notas primo et principaliter aequales habet.' *Tractatus de Musica*, ed. by Simon Cserba, Freiburger Studien zur Musikwissenschaft 2 (Regensburg, 1935), p. 181. The present author prefers to pass over the interpretation of 'rhythmic' neumes in certain early medieval notational families. Any traditions as to their interpretation had died out by the time of the period under consideration here.

[16] Heinrich Sowa, *Ein anonymer glossierter Mensuraltraktat (1279)* (Kassel, 1930), pp. xxviii and 130. 'Nunc ibi prolixe, id est cum multa mora, profertur; cito nunc, id est celeriter descendendo.'

[17] The context does not permit the meaning of this last phrase to be fixed with greater precision.

[18] 'Matutina laetitia elatiore canore celebranda, quam nocturna synaxis.' *Commemoratio brevis de tonis et psalmis modulandis; GS* I, p. 227. (Müller-Heuser's paraphrase [p. 182] does not translate the liturgical

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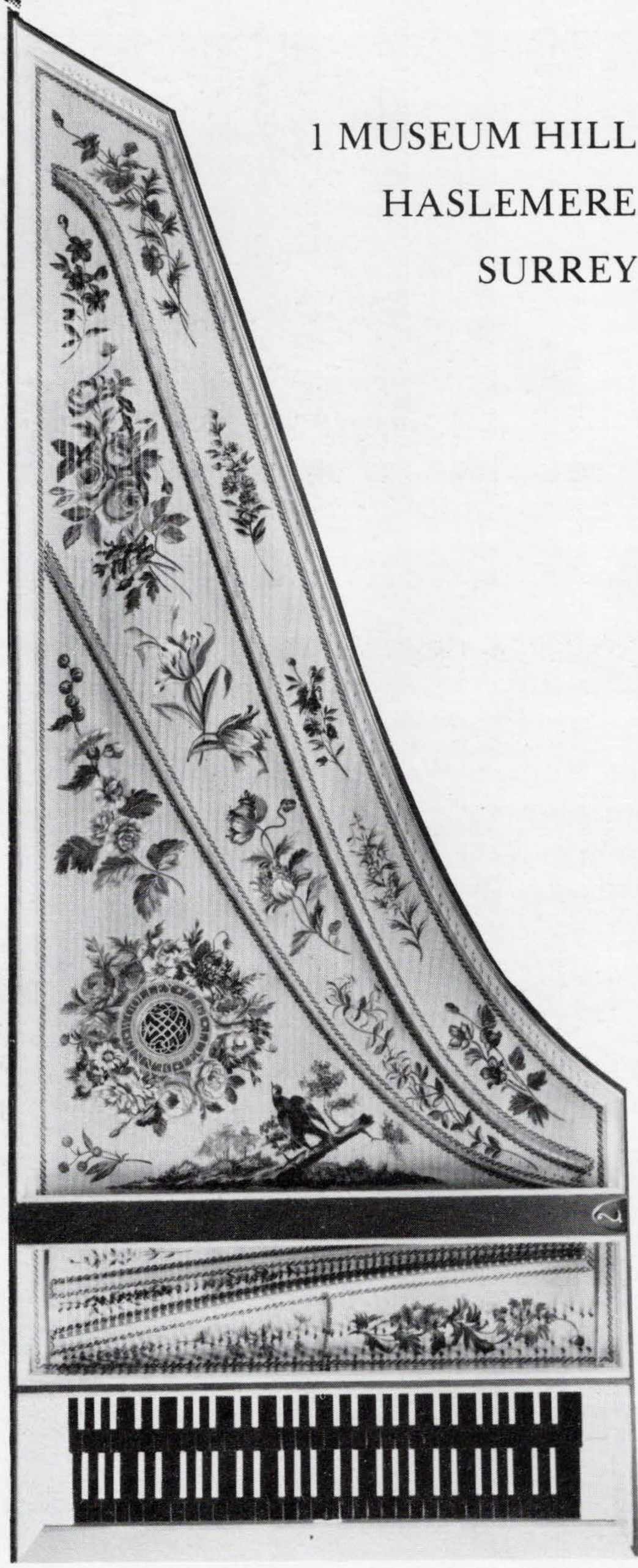

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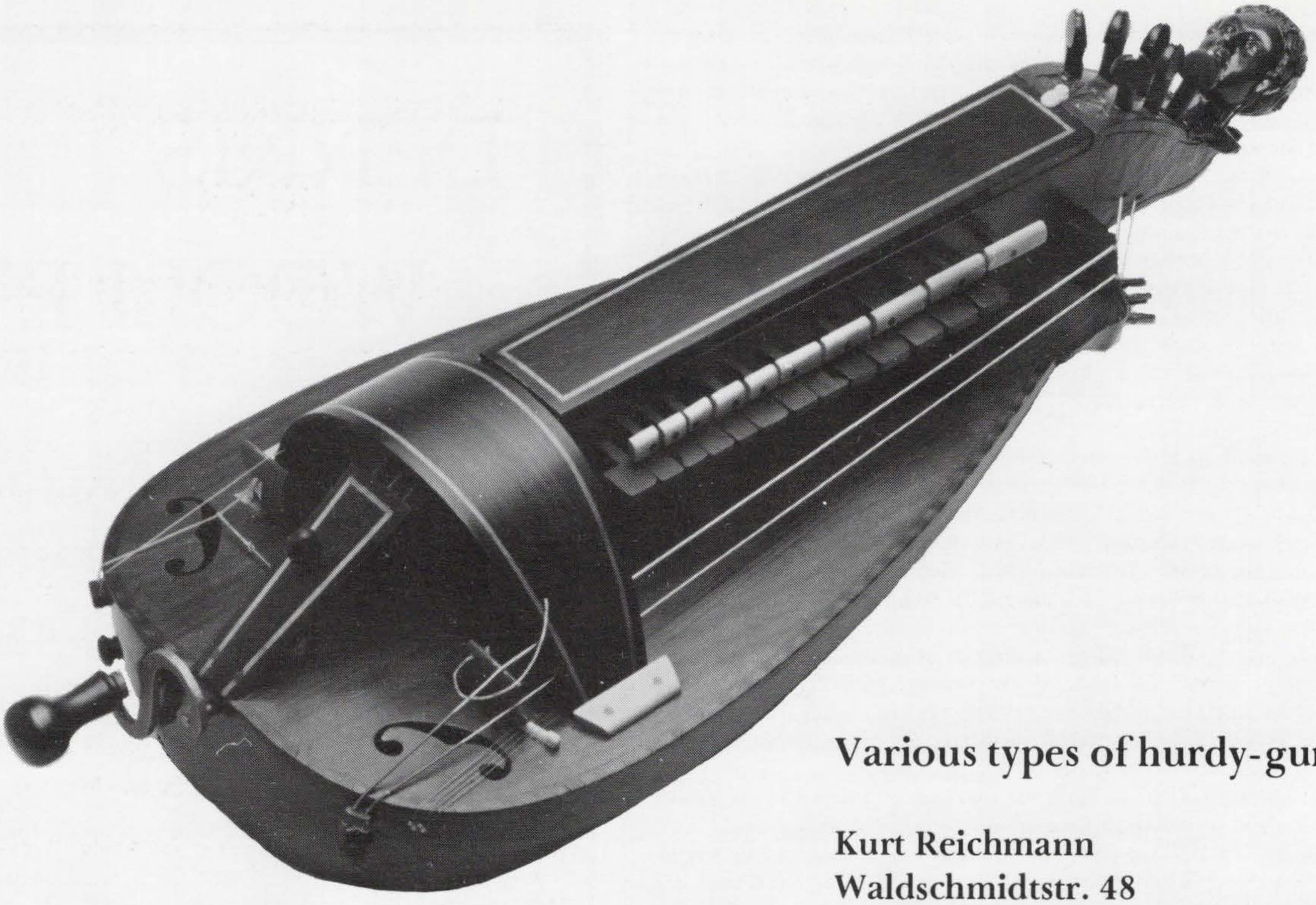

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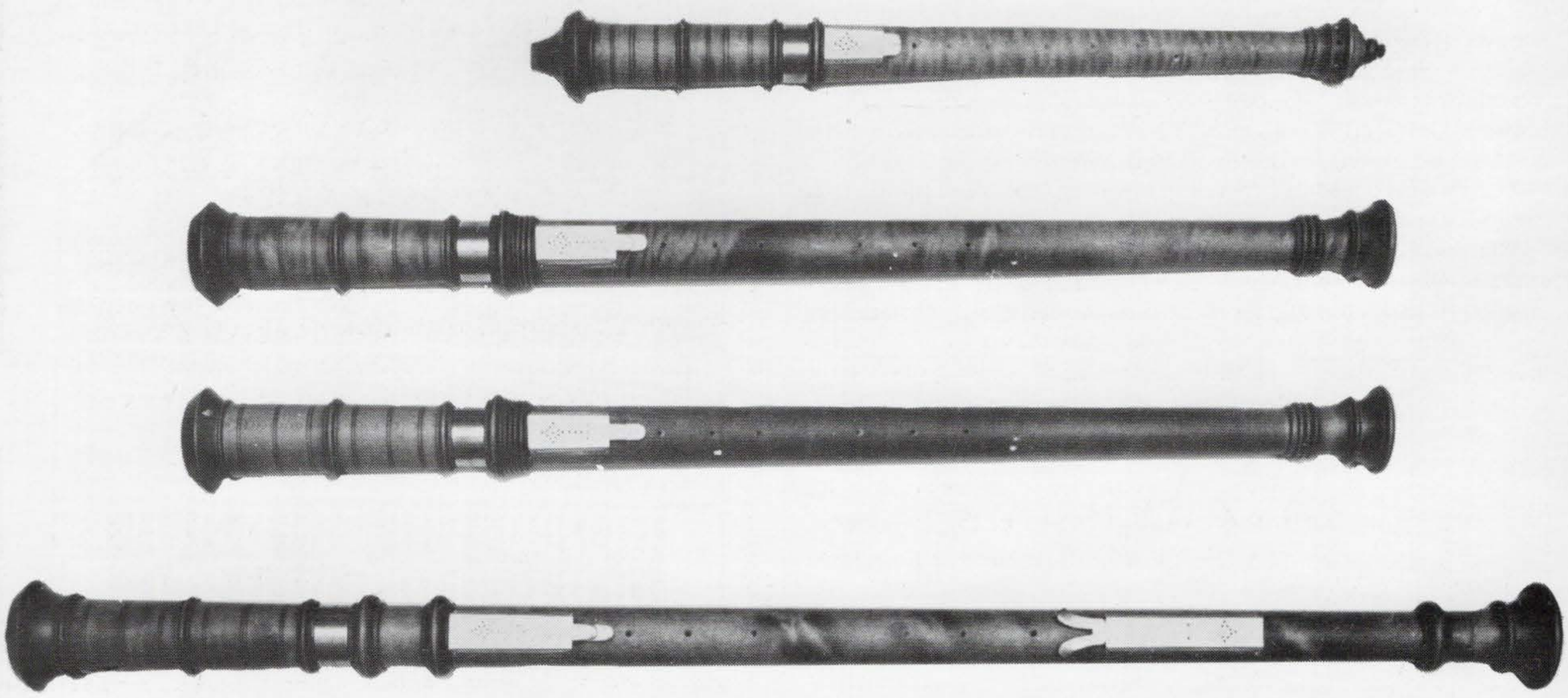

denominations correctly.) The *Commemoratio* also suggests that a smaller number of singers might call for a lower pitch.

[19] '. . . aliquantulum expectemus, et hoc maxime festivis diebus.' *GS* I, 7a.

[20] 'Si morose [slowly] cantamus, longior pausa fit; si propere, brevior.' *GS* I, 6b. Engelbert of Admont (*GS* I, 366) distinguishes between two kinds of *distinctiones* (phrase endings), major or minor depending on the length of the following pause. Johannes de Grocheo (*c* 1300) mentions a slow tempo (*tractim*) for the *Kyrie* and the *Sanctus*, but his terms of comparison are unclear; Ernst Rohloff, *Die Quellenhandschriften zum Musiktraktat des Johannes de Grocheo* (Leipzig, 1967), 162.21, 166.2.

[21] Gümpel ed., p. 125. Cf. the statement of Jacques of Liège (following Isidore of Seville): 'Providendum est igitur musico ut sic cantum temperet, ut in adversis rebus deprimatur, et in prosperis exaltatur.' *Speculum musicae* (*c* 1330), ed. by Roger Bragard, *Corpus Scriptorum de Musica*, 3/VI, p. 215. The older edition is *CS* II, 312a.

[22] *GS* I, 172b.

[23] Both are recommended by the anonymous author of the *Quatuor principalia* (1351), *CS* IV, 294a. Elias Salomon (1274) accepted improvised polyphony, but not embellishment, *GS* III, 58b.

[24] A retrospective piece from a manuscript copied *c* 1500 (Berlin, Cod. germ. 8° 190, f. 183) is transcribed by Arnold Geering in the *Report of the Ninth Congress of the International Musicological Society—Salzburg, 1964* (Kassel, 1966), II, pp. 74-5.

[25] Gümpel ed., p. 146. 'Etczliche aber nicht dyner gottes sein, sunder des teuffelss mancherleye carmina, franczosig stuck und die man uff der lautten schlecht, deutsch und lattein under einenderen menigen yn dem heiligen ampt der mess und vesper und zu den clein korgezeitten, Auch uff der orgelen, seitenspil der metzen und dorethen jungkfrawen . . .'

[26] 'Quae mundalium carminum melodiae . . . multos praesertim iuvenes vel carnales homines plus de domo choreae quam de regno caelorum cogitare faciunt.' Gümpel ed., p. 127.

[27] Müller-Heuser, *Vox Humana*, p. 113; see also pp. 124ff. for other medieval descriptions of the three vocal registers.

[28] *Patrologia latina*, vol. 183, col. 1011. St Bernard of Clairvaux is here quoting the famous passage in the *Rule* of St Benedict: 'Nihil operi Dei praeponatur.' (cap. 43).

[29] Micah 2:4. This phrase is found only in the Latin Vulgate.

[30] The word should be 'oremus' (let us pray), not 'aremus' (let us plough).

[31] According to the canonist Johannes de Deo (*d* 1267), *senium* begins at 80 years of age.

[32] The edition prepared by Florentius Diel in 1509 illustrates this with *Ite-ie-ei-ie-ei-te missa est.*

[33] As the reference to an out-of-tune string makes clear, Conrad is here condemning the singing of incorrect intervals. Presumably he would base his remedial instruction on the keyed monochord.

[34] The context shows that, in Conrad's opinion, the human voice *should* attempt to approximate the organ.

[35] In discussing Office antiphons and their psalmody (next paragraph) Conrad uses *correspondentia* to signify a pitch or tonal relationship between two musical items. The *Kyrie-Gloria* discussion is not quite so clear in this regard. Conrad could mean a tonal relationship of some sort. Alternately, he could simply be referring to *Kyrie-Gloria* pairing, or to entire Ordinary cycles, which begin to be found in chant books from the later Middle Ages. There was no universally recognized custom as to what chants belonged together, however. See Willi Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1958), pp. 419-21.

[36] Conrad apparently derives this epithet from the German word 'grob' [coarse, uncouth]. It is not surprising that the anonymous monastic translator of *De modo bene cantandi* omitted this sentence from his German version.

[37] *Patrologia latina*, vol. 183, col. 1011.

[38] The sixth requisite (*Satis urbaniter cantare*) includes all ten *rusticitates*.

TERMINORUM MUSICAE INDEX

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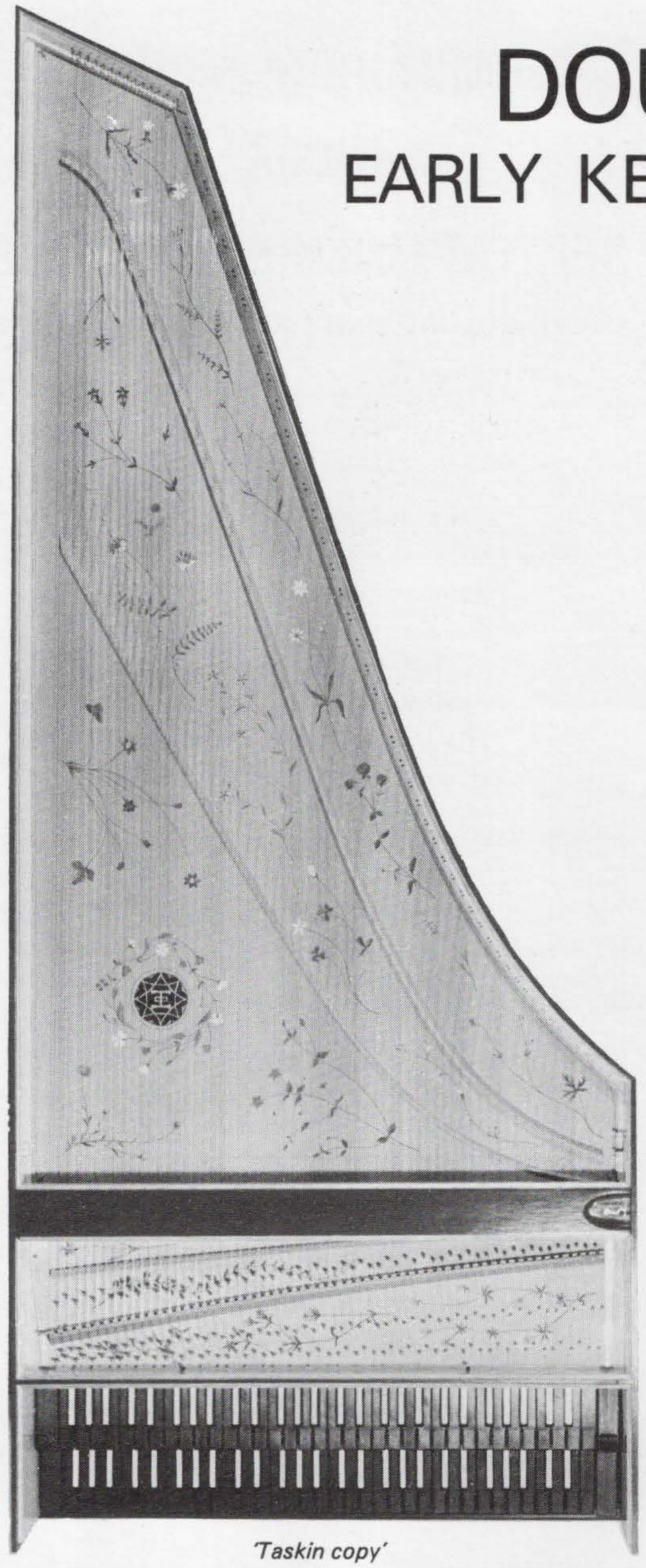

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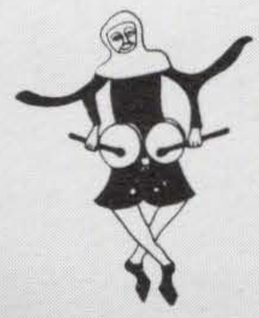

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A setting of 'Astrophil and Stella' by Morley

ROBIN HEADLAM WELLS

For me in sooth, no Muse but one I know:
Phrases and Problemes from my reach do grow,
And strange things cost too deare for my poore sprites.
How then? even thus: in *Stella's* face I reed,
What Love and Beautie be, then all my deed
But Copying is, what in her Nature writes.

(*A & S*, III, 9-14)

Despite its repeated professions of artless sincerity, *Astrophil and Stella* is more in the nature of a dramatic entertainment than a piece of poetic self-expression. There is a wide range of tone and style among the 108 sonnets which make up the sequence: some are quietly meditative, others ostentatiously witty. But each is a miniature dramatic soliloquy designed, not for Stella's ears alone, but for the delight of an audience. Thomas Nashe clearly perceived the true nature of Sidney's sequence when he described it as a 'tragi-comedy of love performed by starlight'. The dramatic nature of *Astrophil and Stella* is emphasized by the eleven songs with which the sequence is interspersed: lyrics which demand to be sung and not simply read.

The technical excellence of these songs (as well, perhaps, as the prestige of being associated with one of the foremost lyric poets of the age) attracted a number of contemporary settings, mainly for three and five voices.[1] In addition to these there have survived three settings for voice and lute. Two are anonymous,[2] the third is by Thomas Morley (*First Booke of Ayres*, No. VII). Although 'Who is it that this darke night' is the only lyric from *Astrophil and Stella* which Morley set to music, it may be worth noting that the next song in the *First Booke of Ayres* is in effect a 'setting' of the lyric 'Onely joy, now here you are'. By this I mean that the lyrics of 'Misteresse mine well may you fare' (*First Book of Ayres*, No. VIII) are metrically identical in every respect to the fourth song in *Astrophil and Stella*. The likelihood of this being pure coincidence is, I think, ruled out by (i) the perfect 'fit' of words and music, (ii) the fact that in the twenty or so contemporary printed song books we find so little precise duplication of metrical forms and (iii) the existence of an alternative version of 'Misteresse mine' which, although it is set to the same tune, differs markedly from Morley's lyrics, and which contains echoes (albeit rather faint) of Sidney's poem.[3]

'Onely joy' is, from a singer's point of view, one of the best lyrics from *Astrophil and Stella*, and an excellent example of Sidney's skill as a song-writer. It takes the form of a humorously one-sided dialogue which wittily parodies the seduction genre. In contrast with the syntactic complexities of the sonnets themselves we find that clarity of exposition which is essential if the comedy is to make its point. The complete simplicity of syntax and diction, the regularity of the trochaic metre and the repetition of the refrain 'No, no, no, no, my Deare, let be' with its ironic reversal of meaning in the final stanza mark this as a poem essentially designed for musical performance. And these qualities are in turn perfectly matched by Morley's brisk singable melody with its tripping quaver refrain, and the simple chordal lute accompaniment.

Although it seems to me unlikely that the parallel is simply a chance one, I think it would be unwise to hazard an explanation. Instead I will let the song speak for itself by printing the first stanza of 'Onely joy' set to Morley's music. The subsequent eight stanzas will be found to fit without any alteration of the words.

[1] These are listed in *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. W. A. Ringler (Oxford, 1962), pp. 566-7.

[2] 'Have I caught my heav'nly jewell' (British Museum MS. Add. 15117, f.19) and 'Go my flocke, go get you hence' (Christ Church, Oxford MS. 439, f.9).

[3] Bodleian MS. Add. B.97, f.17v. The lyrics are printed in *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622*, ed. E. Doughtie (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), pp. 498-9.

The above anonymous portrait of Sir Philip Sidney is reproduced by courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery

Voice
ONE-LY joy, now here you are, Fit to—heare an-i ease my care: Let my whispering voyce ob - taine,
Lute
Sweete re-ward for sharp-est paine: Take me to thee, and thee to me, 'No, no, no, no, no, no, my Deare, let be.'

Night hath closd all in her cloke,
Twinckling starres Love-thoughts provoke:
Danger hence good care doth keepe,
Jealousie it selfe doth sleepe:
Take me to thee, and thee to me.
'No, no, no, no, my Deare, let be.'

Better place no wit can find,
Cupid's yoke to loose or bind:
These sweet flowers on fine bed too,
Us in their best language woo:
Take me to thee, and thee to me.
'No, no, no, no, my Deare, let be.'

This small light the Moone bestows,
Serves thy beames but to disclose,
So to raise my hap more hie;
Feare not else, none can us spie:
Take me to thee, and thee to me.
'No, no, no, no, my Deare, let be.'

That you heard was but a Mouse,
Dumbe sleepe holdeth all the house:
Yet a sleepe, me thinkes they say,
Yong folkes, take time while you may:
Take me to thee, and thee to me.
'No, no, no, no, my Deare, let be.'

Niggard Time threats, if we misse
This large offer of our blisse,
Long stay ere he graunt the same:
Sweet then, while each thing doth frame:
Take me to thee, and thee to me.
'No, no, no, no, my Deare, let be.'

Your faire mother is abed,
Candles out, and curtaines spread:
She thinkes you do letters write:
Write, but first let me endite:
Take me to thee, and thee to me.
'No, no, no, no, my Deare, let be.'

Sweet alas, why strive you thus?
Concord better fitteth us:
Leave to *Mars* the force of hands,
Your power in your beauty stands:
Take me to thee, and thee to me.
'No, no, no, no, my Deare, let be.'

Wo to me, and do you sweare
Me to hate? But I forbeare,
Cursed be my destines all,
That brought me so high to fall:
Soone with my death I will please thee.
'No, no, no, no, my Deare. let be.'

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MUSICAL PERFORMANCE AND AUTHENTICITY

MICHAEL MORROW

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By musical performance I mean the general and particular problems of performing styles, old and new—and I interpret authenticity both in its real sense and in the contemporary cult meaning of the word.

I suppose it is valid for my purpose to classify Western music (at least) into two categories. First, and most familiar, is that music capable of surviving almost the worst performance: for instance, the works of such composers as Josquin, Monteverdi, Beethoven and Berlioz, though I once heard a recording of Monteverdi's *Lamento d'Ariana* sung by a German contralto with continuo by Carl Orff realized—if that is the appropriate word—for four hands (or fists) on one harpsichord: Monteverdi's masterpiece was completely obliterated, no mean achievement.

The second category, however, is the one that creates so many problems of performance—most of them insoluble. Here, the listeners' enjoyment of the music is largely if not completely dependent, not merely upon technical skill, but more significantly upon the performer's familiarity with the particular musical style of his own time, place and social position.

Where there is no surviving tradition—and performing style is something that can only be learned by imitation, not from books—any piece of music, medieval, renaissance, baroque, what you will, offers the modern performer the potentiality of countless possibilities of interpretation: one medieval piece for instance, could be played in a dozen ways and the result would almost certainly appear to be twelve quite different pieces of music. Of course, one of these performances could, by sheer chance, be more or less historically correct. But how are we now to judge which? And supposing a medieval or renaissance listener could hear a modern performance of a chanson by Binchois or a Dowland lute solo, for instance, would he say (I use modern English of course) 'How can anyone ruin such fine music in this way?'; or would he exclaim 'What the hell is that? Some Moorish barbarity no doubt.'

In monophonic music, subtleties of musical style are particularly critical. The unaccompanied singer or instrumentalist has the sole responsibility of focusing an audience's attention, and in order to achieve this, he must be able both to make use of every rhythmic and melodic nuance in his technical vocabulary, and to exploit his talent for improvisation and ability to memorize. Most renaissance writers on music stress the fact that the performer was expected to exploit his

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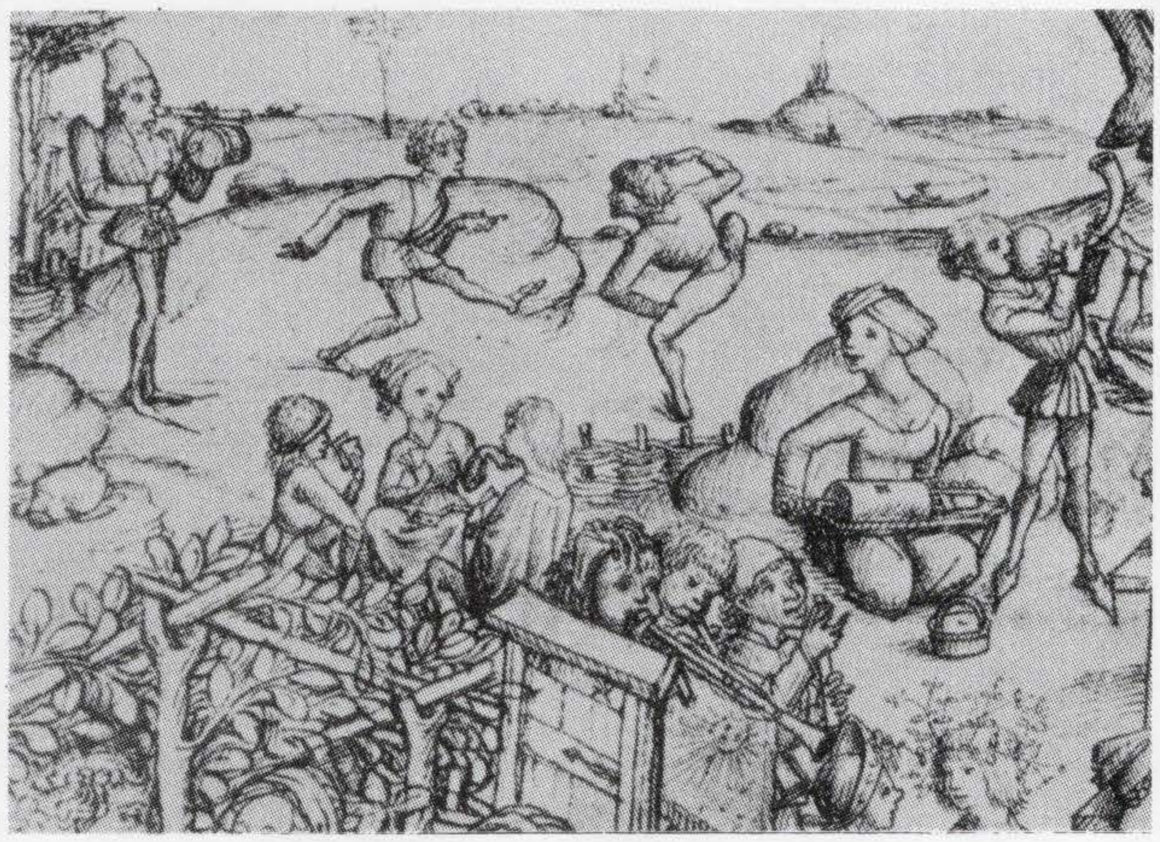
technique not merely for aesthetic reasons but in order to astound his audience by his skill. The modest performer was not generally admired.

Many of these traditions survive to the present day in the remoter parts of Europe. In many regions of the Balkans, for instance, the epic ballad, like the medieval *lai*, is still part of modern rural life. These songs are performed at ceremonial occasions—weddings and so on—by the descendants of the medieval minstrel: proud men who regard their art with high seriousness. These ballads are no brief interludes in the village festivities. Like their medieval equivalent, the narrative, dealing with most subjects, from the slaying of dragons to the massacre of CIA agents, will generally last for many hours, as may be heard, for instance, on many of the fine recordings made by A. L. Lloyd.

As a method of preserving monophonic music, notation, medieval or modern, is almost worse than useless—and it is not too helpful either for polyphonic music. Indeed, early in this century, Bartók insisted that folk music could only be preserved adequately on gramophone record, otherwise the essential elements of performance would be lost. Although folk music—or most non-European art music—conveys little or nothing when committed to paper, today we at least have the tape machine to record the subtleties of performance.

But in the case of medieval song—the monophonic works of the troubadours, trouvères and minnesingers, an impressive number of which have survived—the possibility of reconstructing a performing style containing any element that might be familiar to a medieval listener is so remote as to be, in my opinion, not worth the attempt. The notation of these songs indicates the pitch but not the duration of the notes, and the total absence of oral tradition provides a musicological puzzle—but a puzzle without a solution. Of course, if one is prepared to manufacture one's own rules—knitting your own middle ages as Thurston Dart put it—one may construct a rhythmic style derived from a personally inspired logic or the product of assured but arbitrary conviction, and then, of course, the music can be performed. But the result, far from bearing any resemblance to medieval performing practice, may be a species of quasi-composition and a musical performance that diminishes the composer and glorifies the modern performer.

Folk music, unlike western art music, is not conceived in terms of musical notation, but in terms of exceedingly idiosyncratic performing styles. This



Amusements at the Sign of the Planet Venus *(pipe and tabor, hurdy-gurdy, bladderpipe, trumpets, ?shawm). Drawings from the so-called* Medieval House-book, *c 1475, Library of Schloss Wolfegs.*

innocence of notation was also a feature of minstrel music before the early years of the 16th century. On the other hand, polyphonic music from the middle ages to the present day has been intimately associated with the development and changing styles in musical notation. But, as every folklorist knows, even the most sophisticated notational systems are incapable of indicating the essentials that make a performing style: however inspired the music, written notes are mere symbols; a musical performance is an act of creation, and without the performer music does not exist. Lacking a convincingly stylish performance, much fine music may often appear tasteless or meaningless. And yet, while a traditional melody, for instance, can all too easily be reduced to bastardy, it can also be transformed into a pleasing drawing-room ballad or an elegant art song.

In recent years there has been a most heartening advance in the knowledge of the construction of renaissance instruments, particularly stringed instruments, though viol makers seem to be conducting a muted war over what actually constitutes a renaissance viol. Mass producers of harpsichords have now realized that in order to sell their machines they must call them 'Italian model', 'Ruckers model', and so on.

Few makers of renaissance instruments today seem to recognize the existence and the importance of what they would term transitional forms. They appear not to consider that there must always have been at the same time archaic forms, transitional forms and the latest models. This is as though a naturalist were to say: the prehistoric eohippus evolved into the horse as

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we know it today. Between the two there existed other horse-like creatures; but these, of course, were merely transitional forms.

The human voice, on the other hand, has the ability to produce virtually any sound imaginable. Unfortunately, singers (and their public) today and through the ages have always maintained that there is only one valid vocal style—their own. Some time ago a friend of mine was at a lecture on singing and, as an illustration, the speaker played a recording of Melba: the audience giggled. In a few years time a similar audience will almost certainly be reduced to hysterics by a recording of Kathleen Ferrier singing *Kindertotenlieder*.

Even provided one had exact evidence of lost vocal styles, one would need first to convince the singers (no mean task), instruct them and then educate the audience. For there are two things most audiences and all music critics abhor: non-conventional singing and non-conventional violin-playing. With crumhorns, of course, anything goes.

One still needs to insist that for the music of any period an appropriate vocal style is absolutely essential. I recently remarked to a friend of mine that, unlike the well-known tarted-up performance of the medieval *Play of Daniel*—a performance that included a fire-eater, lots of amusing instruments, jolly dances and featured modern vocal techniques—in order to perform a miracle play all one really needs is a few medieval singers. This is demonstrated in a Folkways recording (FE 4538 A/B) of a Portuguese passion play where, as in the Middle Ages, scenes are mounted on a horse cart and take place in the open air. The singing is not particularly sophisticated but it is remarkable for its intensity of conviction.

With several very happy exceptions, I have always found it difficult to work with singers. This is partly due to my ignorance of 20th-century vocal technique: articulation from the diaphragm rather than the throat, expression by means of the eyebrows instead of the voice. I find it hard to come to terms with the British baritone—beef to the heels like a Mullingar heifer—singing *Captain Stratton's Fancy* at 9.30 on a fine BBC morning; the gorgeous contralto-tenor turning his best profile to the audience; the soprano attacking a high note like a screech owl pursued out of a tunnel by an express train. There seem, however, to be signs that this post-war breed of singers is gradually being put out to grass. But I wish I felt a little more confident about the stylistic conventions of their successors.

I fear that to any singer this may all appear

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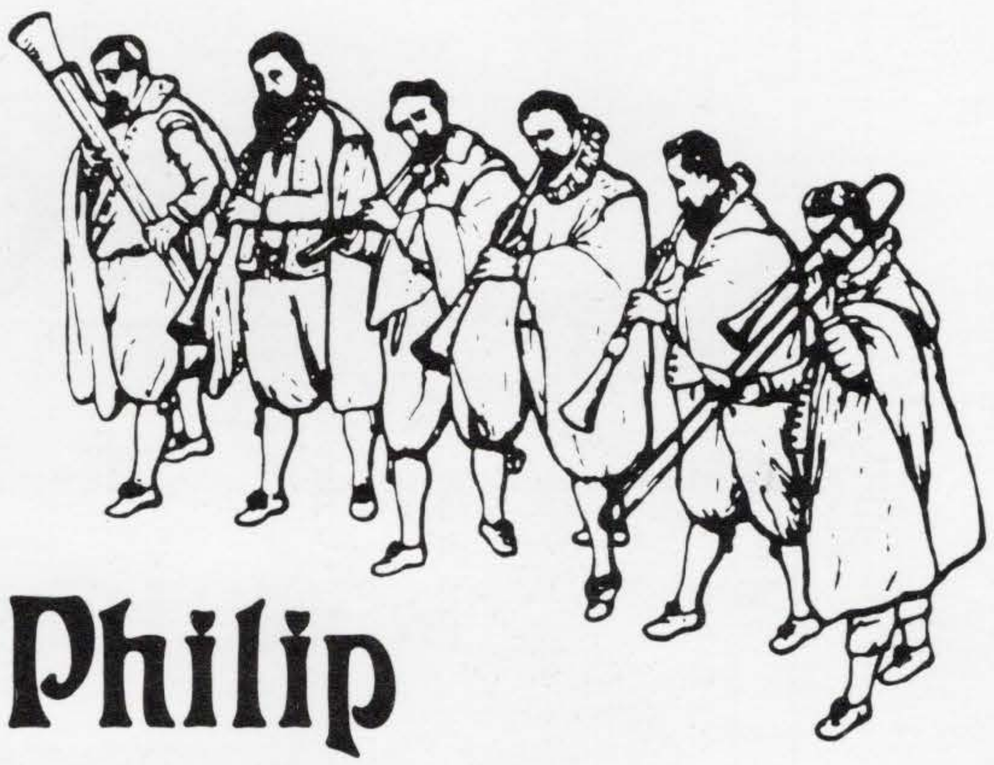
offensive: I assure you it is not intended to be. After all the human voice can and should be the most perfect of instruments—expressive and agile, and was traditionally so regarded. The fact is that most singers occupy a curiously ambiguous position in the musical world—something between musician and actor. Perhaps the difference is that, while the instrumentalist can take an objective view of his technique in relation to his instrument, the singer's instrument, like that of the actor, is himself: to criticize a singer's technique is to criticize him, and this is hard for him to accept. The instrumentalist may come on to the platform, scowl at the audience, ignore it, sit down and play; the singer or the actor, on the other hand, must project himself to the audience and, however well he has performed, if he doesn't sense that the audience is adoring him he feels he has failed utterly.

Today musical authenticity is a subject for serious consideration. But, though the connection between music and the theatre has always been close, the attitude of the modern theatre to historical authenticity is that of a rather shifty lip-service. Any expression of the view that poetry, even Shakespeare's poetry—especially Shakespeare's poetry—could benefit even remotely from authenticity of pronunciation, of acting styles, authenticity of music or design, would be summarily rejected. Great poetry is for all time; Shakespeare is no more or no less Shakespeare in doublet and codpiece than he is in blue jeans. A well-known Shakespearean scholar once told me that if we could be transported to an original performance of a Shakespeare play we would be bored rigid! Great publicity is made these days of the latest 'authentic' Shakespeare theatre: apron stage; awfully Elizabethan sets and musicians playing pop versions of olde Elizabethan numbers on a preposterous conglomeration of shagbuts, crumhorns and rebecs. But the actors? Any consideration of 16th-century conventions of declamation or pronunciation would be to them unthinkable.

Singers have exactly the same reactions to the idea of 16th-century pronunciation as do actors. While they feel that 15th-century English, say, is a funny old language and are quite prepared to pronounce it as they are told, 16th-century English is a different matter. Being accustomed to editions in modern spelling they naively suppose it to *be* modern English.

Though very far from claiming to be an expert on this subject, I recently had occasion to read through the texts of the Dowland Ayres with a young American singer who was anxious to learn about contemporary



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pronunciation. In the modernized spelling of the Fellowes editions it was immediately apparent that 20th-century pronunciation had completely destroyed the verse: again and again the stress was on the wrong syllable, rhyme was debased—'war' and 'star', 'speak' and 'break', to take two examples that occur many times. One might ask what is a rhyming couplet that does not rhyme?

Singers, like actors, defend these anachronisms by maintaining first that the language is modern English, and should be pronounced as such for the sake of intelligibility (presumably for an audience of halfwits); and second, quite unjustifiably, that they will not only lose face, but be laughed off the platform. Both singers and actors have a morbid fear of losing rapport with their audience. How refreshing it is to work with instrumentalists, who so often are both interested and enthusiastic about acquiring new, and to them often outlandish, techniques.

The importance of the relationship between words and music cannot be over-emphasized. A distinguished musicologist recently said to me that the 15th-century rondeau would never have been performed in full, but only in an abbreviated form, as it otherwise would have been too boring. Now, like so many of the other fixed verse forms, the rondeau form is in fact fixed. Its effect on the listener is a very subtle blend of verse and music. To cut the calculated verse-refrain juxtaposition in order to present a snappy snippet is insulting to everyone—poet, composer and audience.

In order to form some idea of past vocal styles it seems to me valuable, if not essential, to familiarize oneself with the enormous variety of sounds that the human voice can produce, with the many highly sophisticated vocal techniques that are found in traditional musics throughout the world. It should be remembered that although a good voice may be the result of a fine technique, it can—and should—also have that indefinable quality to move the listener. And this quality need not necessarily spring from a flawless technique—indeed by its conviction it can often override technique altogether.

As a warning against the belief that the expression of emotion in music is something universal, I'd like to refer to a Yugoslav folksong, sung by a woman accompanied by a bagpipe. The melody is beautiful and very moving—a lament, you would say. In fact it is a satirical song about women marrying young husbands.

I'm all too aware that I have touched rather lightly on the way in which old music should be played,

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stressing, rather, the reasons why virtually any modern attempt to perform medieval or renaissance music can be at best merely a more or less successful counterfeit—a sort of dud five-pound note, or in many cases a wooden dollar. Though perhaps some might prefer the word pastiche as sounding more optimistic. In recent years the emergence of the old-music virtuoso has done much to encourage the manufacture of counterfeit performing styles. One finds performer after performer adopting the same mannerisms, mannerisms based on no known historical practice, but merely in imitation of a hero's personal idiosyncracies.

Performing old music as I do, I continually find myself questioning my motives. They are certainly difficult to justify, but I think the reasons, for what they are worth, are twofold. First, my concern with the music is so obsessive that when I am working I can believe that it really is possible to produce a performance that will have all the excitement of the real thing—a conviction that can sometimes even persist throughout the course of a concert. It is so easy to hear the ideal in one's head rather than the disappointing actuality in the concert hall. But reflection leads inevitably to disillusionment and, consequently, I'm afraid I rarely listen to gramophone records of old music, my own or anyone else's. For me, recordings that give pleasure are those of musicians performing with confidence in a style they were born to.

The second is the reason that one reads the classics, looks at paintings and sculpture, attends the theatre: in this way we can share—though in a limited manner—the feelings, emotions and ideas of men of other ages and other civilizations. But we must never forget that in any age the artist is addressing himself to his contemporaries, and his language is composed of a system of familiar conventions—musical, visual or literary. If we don't or can't learn these languages, the conventions will be as meaningless to us as the hand gestures of an Indian dancer are to the average western audience.

We must attempt to approach the arts of the past from the inside or at least from a sense of familiarity, difficult to achieve in 20th-century Europe. This is, alas, the age of the found object, rather than the created object—an attitude towards art uneasily transplanted from ancient Japanese tradition into the world of Madison Avenue, where it takes its place in a neat and profitable package that uneasily combines Zen-without-tears with health food guaranteed to make you thin, pale, weak but spiritual. I suspect that we are

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living in an age of cultural parasites, an age that includes early music bores such as myself.

What then about all these first modern really authentic performances proclaimed by the record companies and so many concert handbills? Nonsense. All this means is an 'imaginative reconstruction', 1970s style, featuring a few novelties that are the performer's interpretation of the translator's idea of what some 16th-century writer was attempting—usually unsuccessfully—to describe. This is not authenticity. Authenticity can only mean the real thing; and no modern performance of any music of the past can sustain such a claim, any more than a bunch of European enthusiasts, however knowledgeable and skilled, would be capable of giving an authentic performance of an Indian raga. Use of the word Indian, like medieval, renaissance and baroque, constitutes an automatic disqualification.

As well as a convenient catchpenny commercial label, I suspect that, for the devotee of what is now termed 'early music', the word 'authenticity' has acquired a special meaning, a meaning less precise—less rigid, perhaps—than that given in the OED, but nevertheless one that successfully defines a musical quality, the presence or absence of which is instantly apparent to the early music initiate. To the general public, however, this usage can often be both confusing and misleading; rather as the casual mention of nakers, which would leave an early music percussion player unperturbed, might cause a raised eyebrow or two in less esoteric circles.

The early music vogue has added a third class of concert-goer to the London musical world. The traditional light/serious music distinction has now been superseded by pop/serious/early music. One result of the emergence and popularity of the early music *scena* is the serious effect on the romantic violinist or pianist who, until quite recently, regarded the music of the 18th century as an important part of his repertory. Many players who felt this music to be their special province now find that the vogue for 'historically correct' instruments and instrumental styles for baroque music is no longer merely the whim of a few old music cranks, but is increasingly becoming accepted—indeed, insisted upon—by audience and critic alike. Unless he is prepared to risk public ridicule or is fortunate to have a name and reputation that will shield him from criticism, the traditionally trained violinist must renounce his favourite Handel sonatas, the pianist the keyboard works of Bach and Scarlatti.

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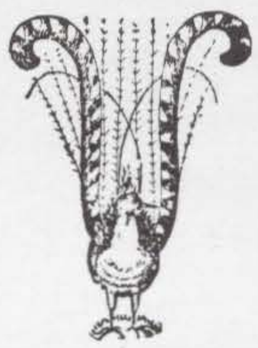

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For the early music man this is, of course, victory: virtue has triumphed. But is this really so? Is there not a place for both styles of performance? Furthermore, how much resemblance does modern baroque bear to baroque baroque? Who knows?—or, rather, who really knows? If one had the option of listening to, say, a Handel concerto grosso performed in the really lush assured style generally admired in the 1930s and 40s, or a modern baroque reconstruction of the same work (in which the listener's attention may only too often be diverted from the music to the desperate concentration of players striving to reproduce accurately all the unfamiliar mannerisms—notatable and unnotatable—that their conductor has assured them constitute the real authentic baroque style) which performance would one choose to attend?

Like those Handel violin sonatas and the Bach and Scarlatti keyboard pieces I referred to, many musical works have retained their popularity for generations and also retained their freshness in the face of changing fashions of performance. Yet, if authenticity can only mean the style in which the music was conceived, and if there is only one valid style for each piece of music, it seems to me that we are in danger of condemning out of hand the sensibilities of a not inconsiderable number of distinguished musicians and some hundreds of thousands of intelligent music lovers of the past—condemning them, moreover, for their belief in the superiority of the fashions of their own time over all others: a delusion, certainly, but one that through the ages has been the prime inspiration for all the works of art.

It is well known that Italian and French music was greatly admired in Germany during the early years of the 16th century. It would be interesting to know exactly how conversant the average 16th-century German musician was with Italian and French styles of performance; surviving evidence suggests that what little information he possessed was often gravely misinterpreted. The poor devil just didn't know any better. So we are left with the interesting possibility that 16th-century Germany produced some of the earliest examples of unauthenticity in the performance of 16th-century music, a point worth considering and one, surely, with a certain relevance to the subject of authenticity.

A neat problem is presented by the *Roman de Fauvel*. This is a long allegorical verse satire dating from the second decade of the 14th century. The manuscript contains a large number of musical interpolations or glosses on the text, some monophonic, some polyphonic, some evidently chosen for a fortuitous relevance to a particular episode in the poem, others specially composed to amplify the literary text. The *Roman de Fauvel* is not only an important and remarkable poem, it is also in effect a unique anthology of medieval music drawn from a period spanning 150 years. And although during this century and a half musical notation had undergone many changes, all the music in the *Roman de Fauvel* is written in the short-lived form of notation current at the time the manuscript was compiled. As this system, clearly, indicates certain rhythms that were impossible to represent in earlier notations, it would seem reasonable to suppose that all the pieces in this manuscript were intended to be performed in the style current during the early years of the 14th century, with no thought at all for antiquarian authenticity. It is interesting to observe that the notation has been further modernized by a later scribe, thus superimposing on the music yet another style of performance.

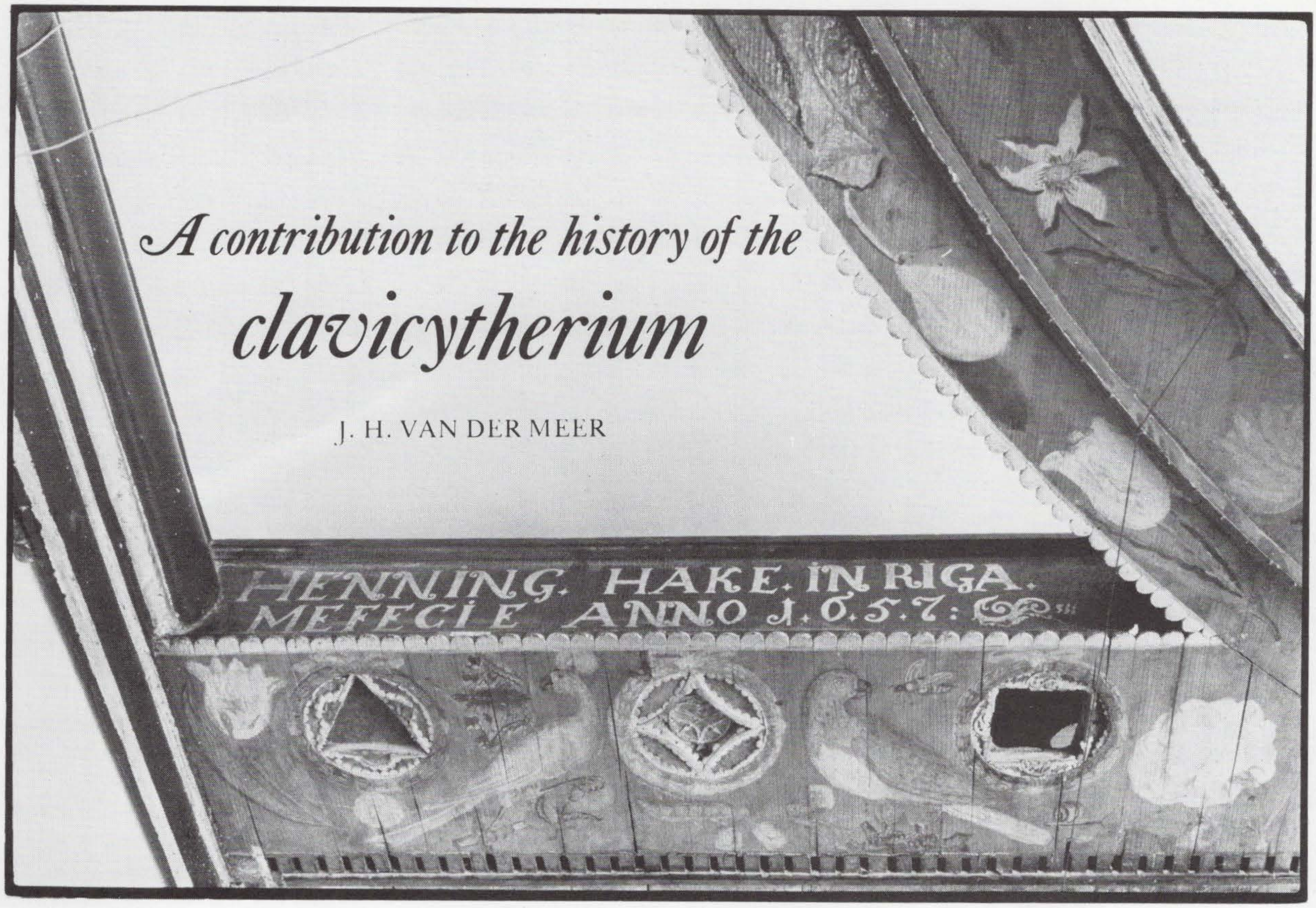
Two further questions about authenticity. First, supposing we could be totally familiar with all historical performing styles, how should we approach, for instance, an early work of Dufay? 'Authenticity' insists that the music must be performed in the style of the time it was written. But would it not have been probable that many instrumentalists, even then, had been trained in a much earlier style of performance, and could well have been reluctant to acquire modishly new techniques? How would Dufay have wished to hear it? His attitude to performance must surely have changed radically during the course of his life; so which is more authentic, the musical taste of the young Dufay or that of the mature composer?

Secondly and finally, one must realize that a considerable amount of surviving medieval music is found in manuscripts that were compiled many years after the death of the composer. From this one can only conclude that the music was still valued, was indeed probably still being performed; however, like the *Roman de Fauvel*, it seems most unlikely that these later performers would have considered employing archaic musical styles, styles that they almost certainly would have regarded with contempt. So, where does this leave us today? I really would like to know—and I have no doubt that somehow, somewhere, somebody will be only too anxious to explain to me how simple it all really is.

This article is based on a talk given last November at the Early Music Centre, London.

A contribution to the history of the clavicytherium

J. H. VAN DER MEER



Inscription on the upper surface of the header of a clavicytherium dated 1657. Musikhistoriska Museet, Stockholm (no. 1774)

Michael Praetorius, in discussing the stringed keyboard instruments in his *Syntagma musicum* (1619), dedicates a short chapter to the clavicytherium,[1] which he describes as being pointed in front like the harpsichord, but having the case and the soundboard with the strings placed vertically. He includes an engraving of such a vertical harpsichord in the *Theatrum instrumentorum*, which resembles surprisingly an instrument preserved in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg.[2] Praetorius, therefore, considers the clavicytherium as a harpsichord placed in an upright position. It goes without saying that in such an instrument a special action is needed in order to bring back each of the jacks after the player has released the corresponding key, as the jacks are in a horizontal position and do not fall down by their own weight. For this special action no standard was ever devised, and there are nearly as many variations of it as there are instruments in existence. It would lead too far from the purpose of this article to enter into the details of these variations.

In any case Praetorius considers the clavicytherium as an upright harpsichord. Bonanni,[3] Adlung,[4] de Castillon[5] and Hüllmandel,[6] too, treat the instrument as a special kind of harpsichord. Bonanni—although his illustration, having been extracted from Kircher, does not confirm this—calls the clavicytherium a *Cembalo verticale*, and the term *Clavecin vertical* is also to be found in de Castillon. Kircher[7] as well as Bonanni, Adlung and Hüllmandel mention as an advantage of the instrument the fact that it takes up less space than a harpsichord and may serve as a pretty piece of furniture in a room. Bonanni—and this is very important—mentions the fact, well-known to all players of the clavicytherium, who get the sound of the instrument directly hitting their ears, that the sound is better propagated (*il suono si propaga meglio*)—better obviously than that of a normal harpsichord.

Most clavicytheria preserved in museums and collections are, indeed, upright harpsichords. Sometimes they were originally harpsichords, and rebuilt into an upright position. Other instruments—as far as I know, all those from the 18th century (e.g. the Delin clavicytheria, and the interesting Ferdinand

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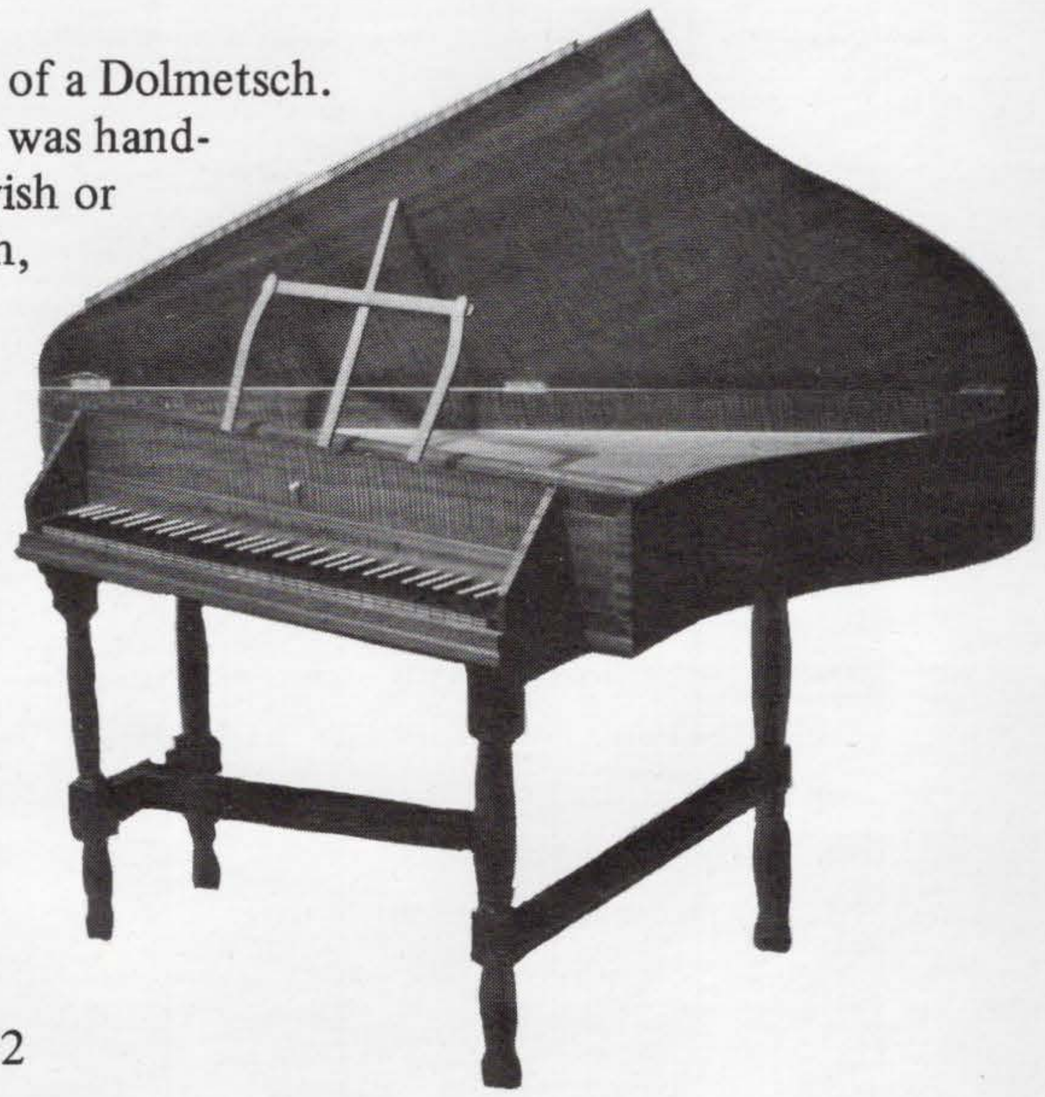

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Weber instrument, built *c* 1775 at Dublin, sold at Sotheby's on 29 June 1956, and illustrated in Russell[8]) —are upright harpsichords originally built as such. They seem to confirm Bonanni's observation that the sound is better propagated.[9]

A few clavicytheria from the 17th century have a curious, organ-like action. They are built in the shape of a pyramid with the longest string in the middle, and with the subsequent strings to the left and the right (to put it in organ terms, with a C and a C♯ side). It goes without saying that a complete action of trackers and rollers is needed to put into action the right jack to pluck the right string. The most extreme cases are the top notes: the keys b^2 and c^3 obviously lie next to one another, while the b^2 string is farthest to the left and the c^3 string farthest to the right. Italy was probably where this type of clavicytherium was first devised; there is an undoubtedly Italian instrument with the compass C/E-c^3, two 8′ registers and a cypress soundboard, originally in the instrument collection of Benedetto Marcello and now preserved at the Museo di Strumenti Musicali at Rome.[10] Another instrument of this type is the beautifully decorated clavicytherium by Martinus Kaiser of Düsseldorf, in the Sammlung Historischer Musikinstrumente at Vienna, formerly owned by the Emperor Leopold I and made obviously under Italian influence.[11]

The position of the clavicytherium in the 15th century is anything but clear. The description of the *(?)nnportile* (Manuportile?) by Paulus Paulirinus de Praga *c* 1460[12] is clumsy, written in bad Latin, and the text preserved probably corrupt. It seems to be some vertical instrument (*stans erectum in sursum*), being a combination of an organ and a harpsichord. In the description reference is made to the *media ala*, which like the *ala integra* or *tota ala* was upright. The descriptions of the two wing-shaped instruments is also rather ambiguous, but the terms probably designate harp-shaped psalteria, or vertical psalteria strung on both sides, as were fairly common from at least the 14th century onwards. Neither does the famous angel playing the clavicytherium on the foot of the altar in the parish church at Kefermarkt (Upper Austria) help us very much.[13] The altar seems to be, indeed, the work of a sculptor from Passau from *c* 1480, but the instrument of the angel in question has disappeared. The clavicytherium is a replacement added during a 19th-century restoration of the altar. For all we know, the angel may originally have played a portative organ.

The thick fog of the 15th century becomes thinner at the beginning of the 16th, and changes into a still slightly opaque mist, in which contours, however, begin to show. The first author to quote is Virdung (1511).[14] In the first work on organology written in the vernacular, he illustrates above *Clauiciterium* a vertical keyboard instrument. Leaving aside the possibly confused connection between the illustrations, their captions and the main text,[15] Virdung's woodcuts are neither clear nor realistic: the *Clauiciterium* illustrated by him has the longest strings in the treble and is, therefore, a looking-glass image. It is striking that the wrestplank with the tuning-pins is schematically indicated not immediately above the keyboard, but in a kind of neck, as in a harp. The instrument was, according to Virdung, newly invented (*neülich erfunden*) in 1511; was like the virginal (*eben als das virginale*), by which he probably meant that it had strings plucked by plectra; had strings of sheep-gut (*saiten von den dörmen der schaffe*), which bring to mind a harp more than a harpsichord; and had pins that made it sound like a harp (*negel die es harpfen machen*)—this must have been a kind of contrivance like Praetorius' *Arpichordum,*[16] preserved as a special stop in certain Ruckers virginals as well as in one by Joannes Couchet (1650), consisting of a batten with pins that can be pressed against the bass part of the strings;[17] finally it had quills like the virginal (*federkile als das virginale*). As far as this last observation goes, it implies that the instrument did not have brass plectra, as Kinsky[18] assumes, although brass plectra do, indeed, occasionally occur in German plucked keyboard instruments (e.g. the Johann Mayer 1619 harpsichord in the Salzburg Museum Carolino Augusteum) and perhaps in Italian ones. Virdung's description is not exceedingly clear, unfortunately, but the instrument obviously does have certain elements of the harp. The idea of constructing a stringed keyboard instrument with vertical strings need not surprise us much, if we think of two things. In the first place the harp has vertical strings of gut and the idea of playing such an instrument with a keyboard does not seem too far-fetched. In the second place, the positive and portative organs were already in existence. In these instruments the pipes are vertical. The idea of substituting strings for pipes does not seem far-fetched, either. I refer again to Paulus Paulirinus' description of what would seem to be a combination of an organ and a vertical harpsichord. Virdung himself also suggests the connection between the two, when he mentions the *Harpfentiue,*[19] obviously a combination of harp and positive or portative organ. Gerhard Stradner, in his unpublished dissertation on Virdung, comes to different conclusions. However, until this

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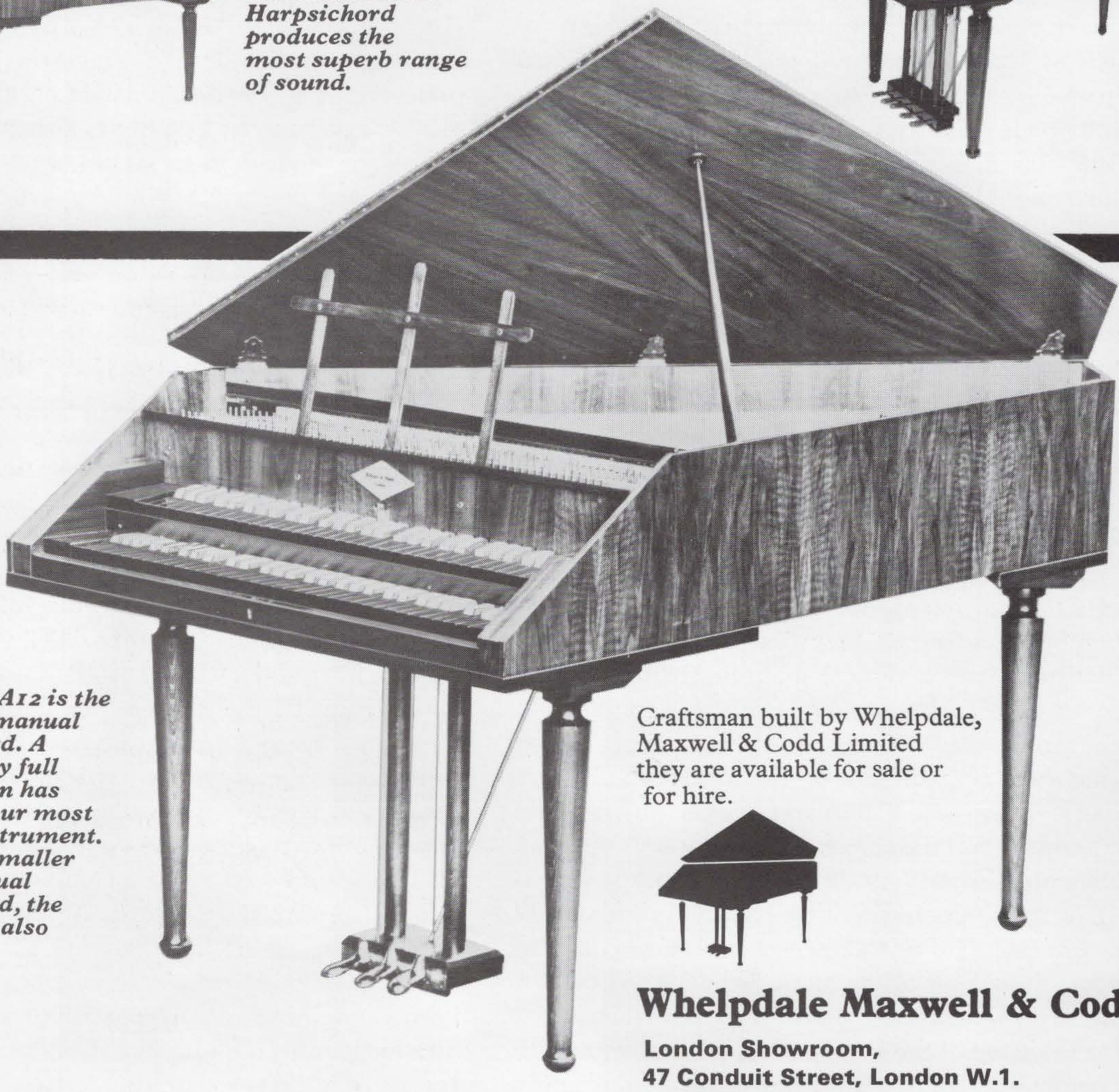

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important work has been published, it is not possible to include Stradner's conclusions in this argument.

It seems probable, therefore, that Virdung is referring to a kind of keyed harp in discussing the *Clauiciterium*. Unfortunately, neither Agricola[20] nor Luscinius[21] shed any more light on the matter, as they only take over Virdung's illustrations without any further description.

A little later, in the 16th century, we find in the inventory of musical instruments of King Henry VIII (1547): 'two faire paire of newe longe Virginalles made harpe fasshion of Cipres', and again 'a paire of Virginalles facioned like a harp'.[22] Dr Cervelli[23] rightly argues that the harp shape can be discerned, when looking at the bridges of an Italian polygonal virginal from above. For this reason Dr Cervelli assumes that the word *arpicordo* applies to polygonal virginals. (As a small complication the fact remains that the harp shape can also be discerned when looking at the bridges of a rectangular virginal from above, whereas this type of instrument is generally termed *spinetta* or *spinetto* in the 16th and early 17th centuries.) However this may be, the hexagonal (and probably the rectangular) virginal were no doubt familiar instruments in England under Henry VIII. For not only is there the pentagonal virginal by Giovanni Francesco Antegnati, Brescia 1537, in the Victoria and Albert Museum,[24] but it also looks probable, if one reads the inventory itself. In it 30 virginals are listed. Now this word in 16th- and early 17th-century English can mean any kind of plucked keyboard instrument, harpsichord, virginal or other. As the pentagonal spinet was no longer a new type by 1547, it seems probable that the virginals in Henry VIII's inventory include harpsichords as well as the instruments that are called virginals in modern terminology. Therefore, the three 'harpe fasshion' virginals in the inventory must have been something different. Two of them were, furthermore, 'longe', which can hardly refer to polygonal virginals. Indeed, it seems probable that upright keyboard instruments are meant, that in some way or other resemble the harp.

Zacconi,[25] writing towards the end of the century (1592), unfortunately is not very explicit. He lists *Arpicordi* (polygonal spinets according to Dr Cervelli's interpretation), *Clauicembani* (harpsichords), *Cethare* and *Spinetti* (rectangular virginals). By using the method of elimination one arrives at the conclusion that *Cethare* are upright keyboard instruments. How these were constructed remains a mystery.

In the 17th century Mersenne[26] discusses *vne nouuelle*

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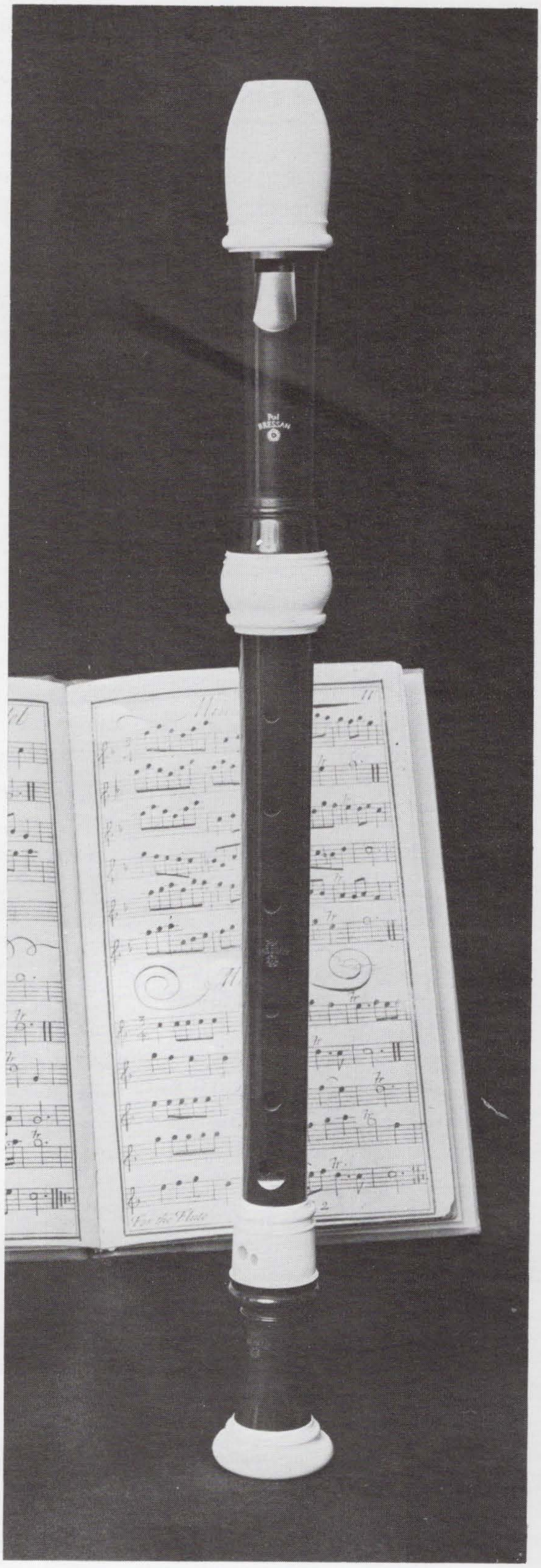

forme d'Epinette dont on vse en Italie. It appears from the description and the illustration that the instrument *se tient perpendiculairement comme la Harpe*, that it had horizontal jacks and a very small soundboard, and that the strings were *perpendiculaires en l'air*. Mersenne describes the *tres-douce harmonie* that sounds when the wind plays through the strings. It is evident that this cannot apply to a normal clavicytherium. Here, again, some kind of keyed harp is referred to.[27] If this is assumed, the *tres-douce harmonie* is explained, which is in vivid contrast to the sound that, according to Bonanni, *si propaga meglio*.

Somewhat later in the century Kircher,[28] whose *Iconismus* is identical to Mersenne's illustration, writes about instruments, especially used in Germany and built in such a way that they more nearly resemble harps than harpsichords (*vt Harpam verius quam Clauicymbalum referant; Duplicem praeterea vsum habent; & Harpae, & Clauicymbali*).

It appears from careful analysis of these examples that there must have been in the 16th and 17th centuries a keyboard instrument resembling a harp, with plucked vertical strings through which the wind could play, with horizontal jacks, with a small soundboard and a soft sound, which—at least according to Virdung—could be sharpened by a kind of 'Arpichordum' stop in analogy to the harp crotchets, against which the strings vibrate. The instrument, according to Virdung, had gut strings, but these may have been discarded at an early date. Gut strings easily break and go out of tune, so that towards 1600 Sebald Haiden, whose first *Geigenwerke* were built from 1575 onwards with gut strings, discarded these and substituted metal ones.[29] For the same reason Zacharias Hildebrand's *Lautenklavizymbel*, devised *c*1740,[30] did not meet with success. The upright harp-like keyboard instrument must have been invented not too long before 1511, if we may believe Virdung, and was especially used in Italy.

Are there any instruments of this construction preserved? Even if there were not, this would not invalidate our reasoning. After all, no bassanelli, no rauschpfeifen, no cornamuse (in the sense in which Praetorius used the word), no kortholte (again in Praetorius' sense of sordoni with wind-caps), no schreierpfeifen, and for that matter no lautenklavizymbel are preserved, and yet no one denies they existed. However, in the case in question we need not content ourselves with quotations from the literature, as a few instruments of the type described have survived.

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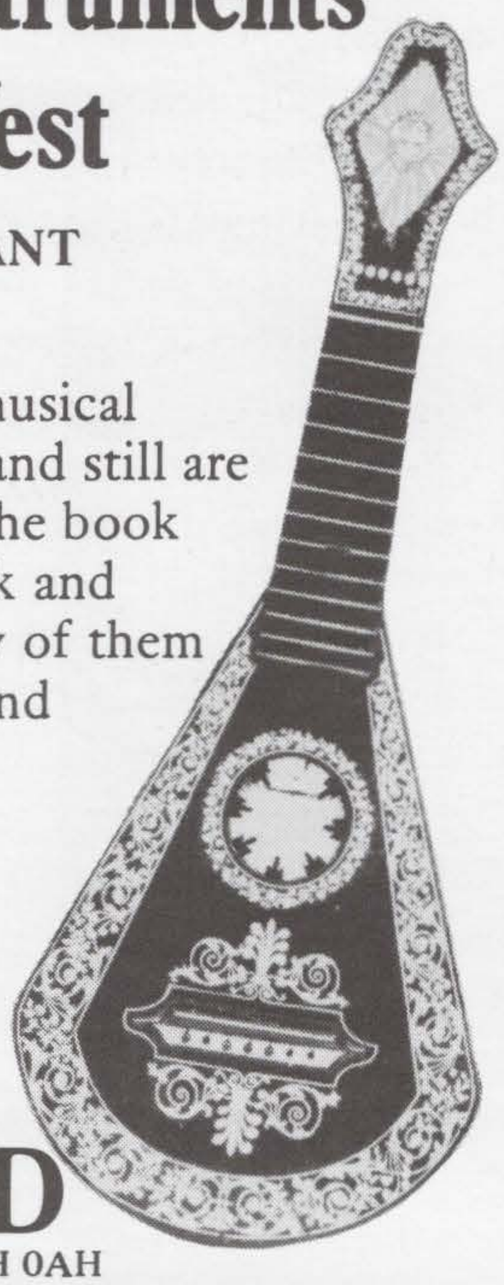

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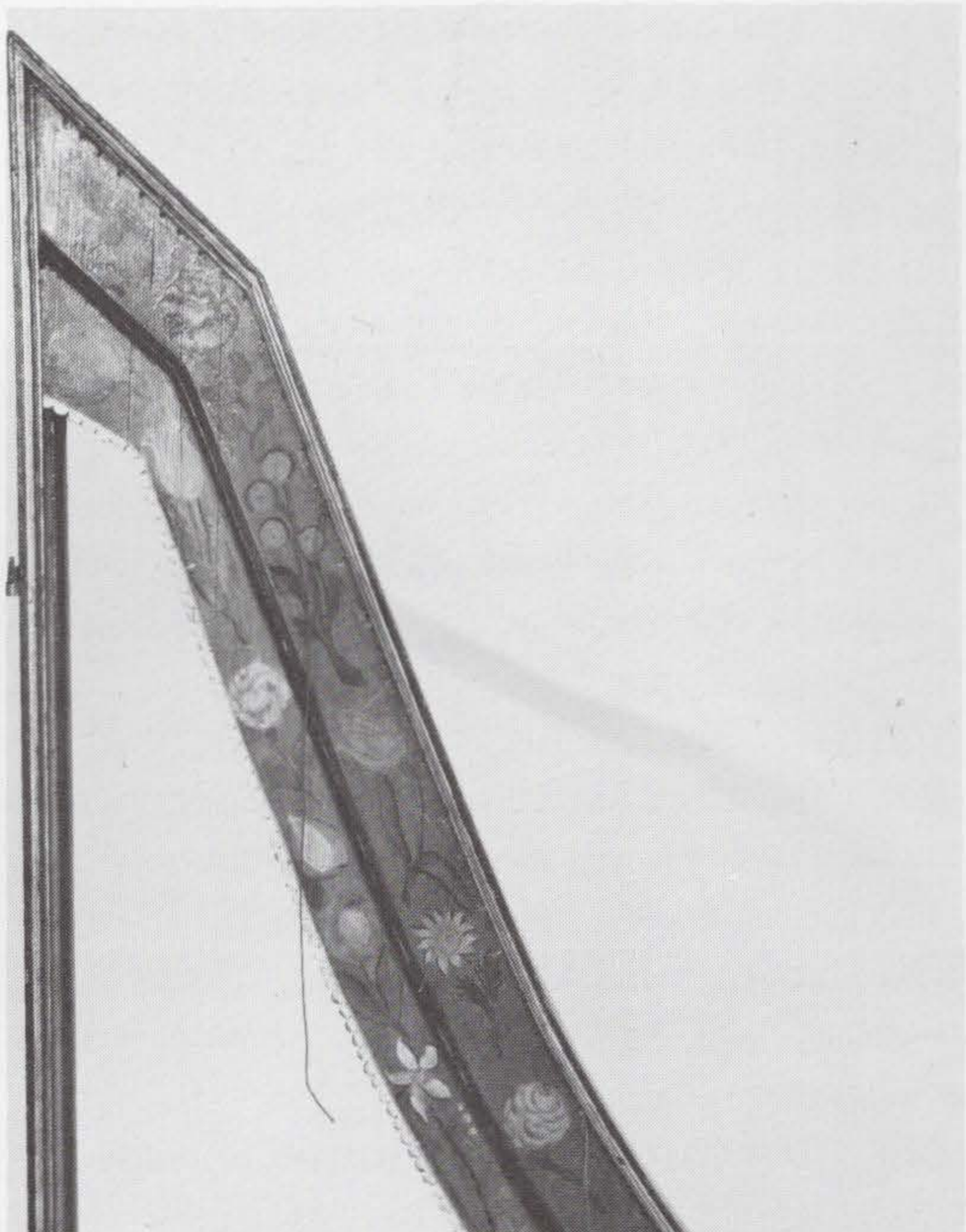
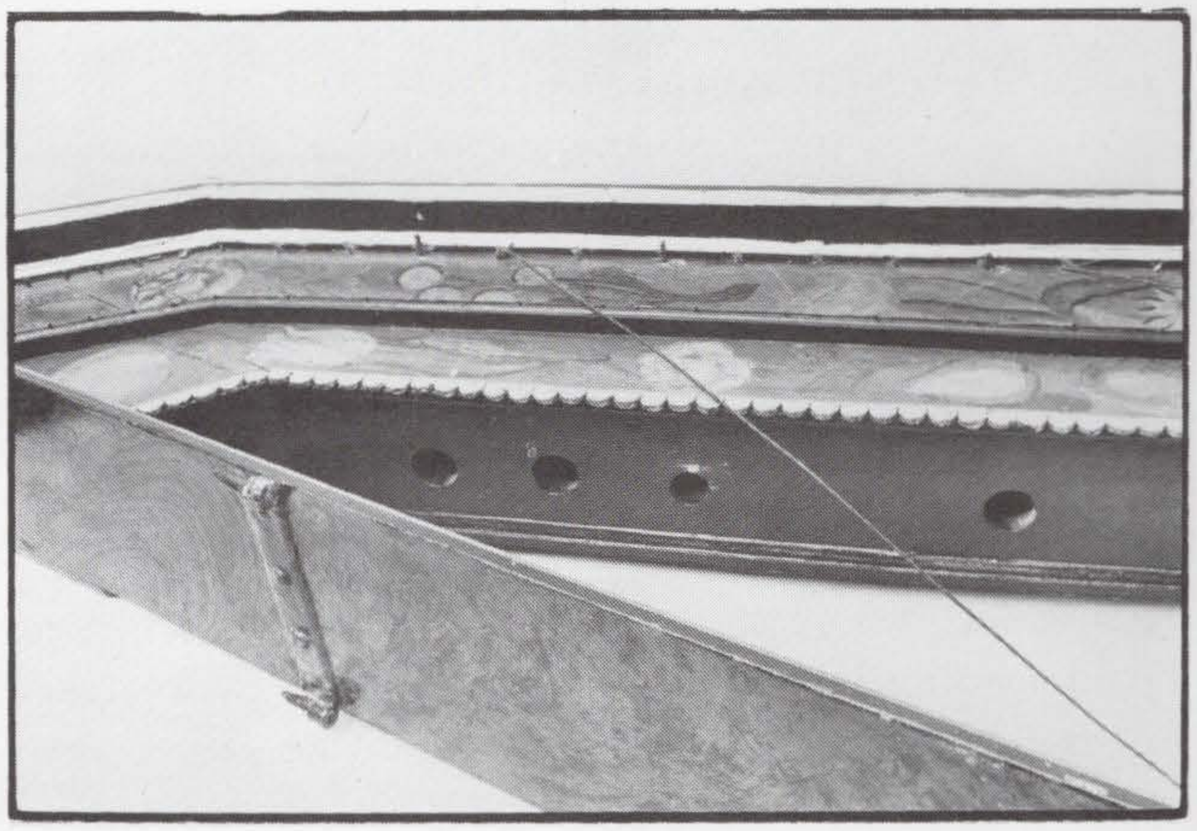
The first item to be discussed in this connection is no. 1774 of the Musikhistoriska Museet at Stockholm.[31] This harpsichord-shaped instrument was obviously played in an upright position, as it originally had doors on both sides, which follows from the hinges with two pins each (illus. 1). It seems from the paintings on the soundboard and the three roses that the soundboard was never any larger. The belly-rail running from the soundboard to the bottom plank round the inside of the opening looks original or at least old. In the part of the belly-rail parallel to the bent side there are a number of round soundholes, reminiscent of (although not identical with) the holes in the soundboard of a harp (illus. 2). In the part of the belly-rail parallel to the jack-slides is the insignia (see p. 247): HENNING. HAKE. IN RIGA./ME FECIE ANNO 1.6.5.7.[32] Riga in Livland belonged to Sweden at that period. The name Hake could be Swedish or German. The Christian name Henning is not Scandinavian, but North-German. However, even if Hake was a Swede, he obviously worked in the German tradition, as the style of the soundboard paintings and the roses show. The bottom plank has been lengthened, and the spine and cheek have been reduced (illus. 3). It is evident that both spine and cheek were originally wider. The additional space at the lower end of the instrument was needed for the keyboard and the transmission action from keys to jacks. There are 45 tuning-pins which suggest a compass of C/E-c^3. The original tuning-pins are too short for the fixing of the thicker gut strings. At one period of the instrument's existence the keyboard and the action were discarded and an effort was made to change it into a real harp. For this purpose 12 new tuning-pins were applied in the bass, with holes drilled for the fixing of gut strings. These tuning-pins are, however, clearly of a later date, and it can safely be assumed that the instrument in its original state had the shorter tuning-pins without holes for metal strings. There was only one row of jacks, guided by an upper and a lower jack-slide. A harp-stop batten along the nut may or may not be original.

The second item is instrument no. 382-97 of the Norsk Folkemuseum at Oslo (illus. 4).[33] Here the keyboard is still incorporated. It has a compass C/E-c^3. The tuning-pins in two rows suggest two stops at first sight, but they are only 45 in number. There was one row of jacks guided in the same manner as in the Riga instrument. Here, too, the tuning pins are too short for the fixing of gut strings, so that the instrument must have had metal strings from the beginning. It has



1. View of clavicytherium frame in position. Musikhistoriska Museet, Stockholm (no. 1774)

2. Detail of the above instrument showing sound-holes



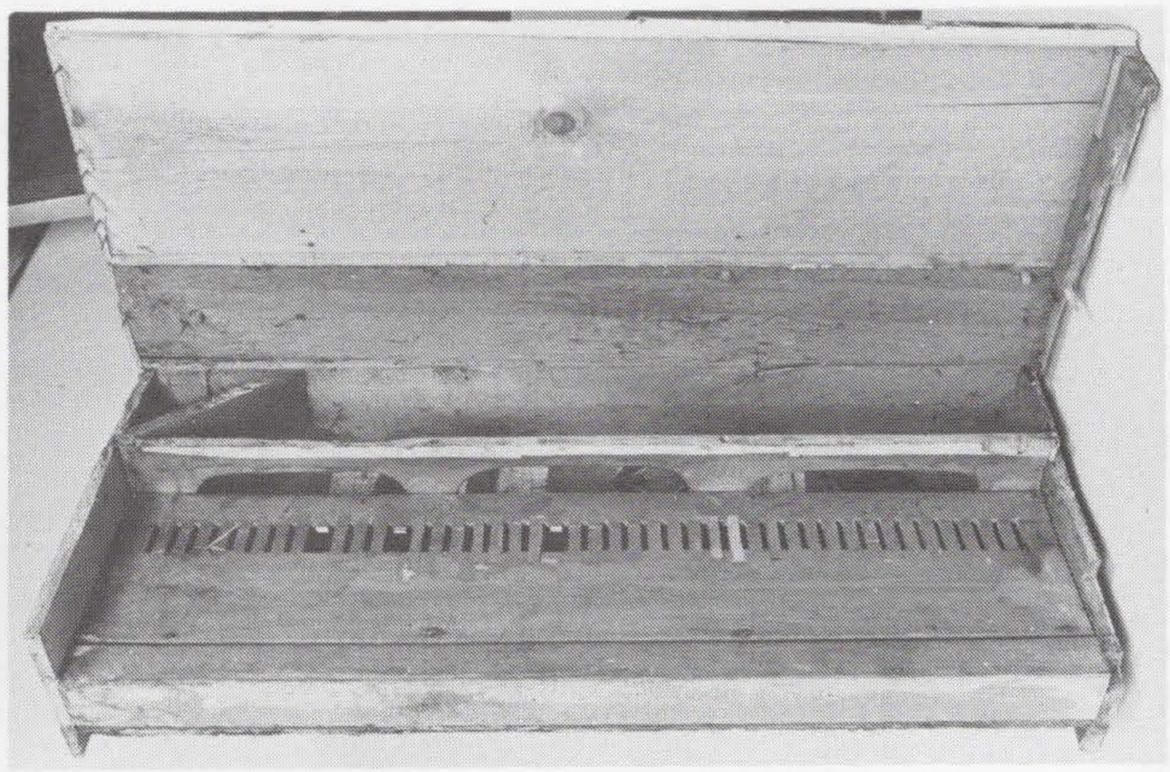
the same small soundboard as the instrument by Hake, but the opening is here filled up with wood-carving in an *à jour* setting. The style of this suggests that the instrument dates from the 17th century. There is neither a signature nor a locality, but whatever the provenance, the similarity with the Riga instrument is such, that it can be deduced that this, too, was built in the North-German tradition.

As far as I know, these two instruments are the only ones of this type preserved. They belong to a Northern-German and Scandinavian tradition, whereas Mersenne states that the 'new' form of spinet was used in Italy. Now, there was quite a distance between Italy and Scandinavia although there are a few *traits d'union*, e.g. Girolamo Zenti, who was in Stockholm at the court of Queen Christine in 1653, four years before the date of Hake's instrument.

There is, indeed, a clue that the type was known in or at least not so far away from Italy. A clavicytherium of perhaps North Italian, but more probably South German, provenance is preserved in the Royal College of Music in London.[34] The ivory studs along the soundboard edge suggest Italian provenance. However, glued into the instrument there is a strip of paper referring to a juridical question at Ulm. The two gothic soundholes also suggest Germany rather than Italy. In principle this instrument has exactly the same layout as the one in Oslo, with a woodcarving in an *à jour* setting. The only difference is that the bottom plank continues down to the base. There is one row of jacks. The compass is C/E-g^2, very near to the compass F-g^2 occurring in Virdung in 1511. It seems probable that the instrument under discussion dates from the first half of the 16th century.

Instruments as described above have a certain resemblance to clavicytheria in the sense of upright harpsichords. However, they have an opening like the space between the case, the neck and the pillar of a harp. They have for this reason a far smaller soundboard than an upright harpsichord, and moreover they probably always had only one row of jacks. For both reasons the sound must have been softer than that of the upright harpsichord.

It may be assumed that this type of instrument was known in Italy and South Germany by about 1500, which would explain the *neülich erfunden* in Virdung. There it was in part developed into the normal clavicytherium, first by extending the bottom plank, then by extending the soundboard as well. The original form may still have subsisted in Italy up to about 1650, as Mersenne refers to that country. In the second half



3. The Stockholm clavicytherium from behind showing soundboard, rear jackrail and header

4. A 17th-century clavicytherium in the Folkemuseum, Oslo

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of the 17th century it may have continued life in some of the German states, in Scandinavia and in regions dominated by the Scandinavian kingdoms. By the beginning of the 18th century it had probably disappeared from music practice. Gerber's statement,[35] that Johann Kurtz, organist at Tübingen, had invented a new kind of harp that could be played by means of a keyboard like a spinet in 1681, can for this reason not be fully correct. It may be, of course, that Kurtz in some way improved the already existing keyed harp-like instrument.

It can be concluded from the aforesaid that the term 'clavicytherium' can denote two different kinds of keyboard stringed instrument. First, an upright harpsichord, described or mentioned by Praetorius, Bonanni, Adlung, de Castillon and Hüllmandel. It has a sound that directly hits the ears of the player: *il suono si propaga meglio*; secondly, an instrument like an upright harpsichord, but with an open space as in the instruments described above, which give it a certain resemblance to the harp. This is the type described or mentioned perhaps by Virdung and in Henry VIII's inventory, but in any case by Mersenne and Kircher. It has a *tres-douce harmonie*.

Now upright harpsichords were far rarer than harpsichords or virginals, and the harp-like type was probably at least as rare, while there is no proof that it was still built in the 18th century. For this reason it is likely that not all writers about musical instruments really knew and had heard the instruments they wrote about. In such cases they copied previous authors. Praetorius undoubtedly describes and illustrates type 1, but he also writes of it: *Und gibt einen Resonantz fast der Cithern oder Harffen gleich von sich* (it produces a resonance like that of citterns or harps), which is obviously nonsense. This phrase is probably Praetorius' interpretation of Virdung's *negel die es harpfen machen*. Hüllmandel undoubtedly describes type 1, which he may or may not have heard. It is very improbable that he knew type 2. However, writing about instruments of type 1, he mentions *La foiblesse de leur son*, which is probably his own interpretation of Mersenne's *tres-douce harmonie*, which this author, however, connects with type 2. Fuhrmann[36] may just have known an instrument of type 2 in 1706, as he writes about *Clavicytheria, Clavicymbel in die Höhe wie eine Harfe* (upright like a harp). He does not seem to think a great deal about them, for they are *unbeständig* (unsteady, unstable). He may mean that the tuning was unstable, which in that case may have been due to gut stringing. Adlung in 1768 refutes Fuhrmann stating

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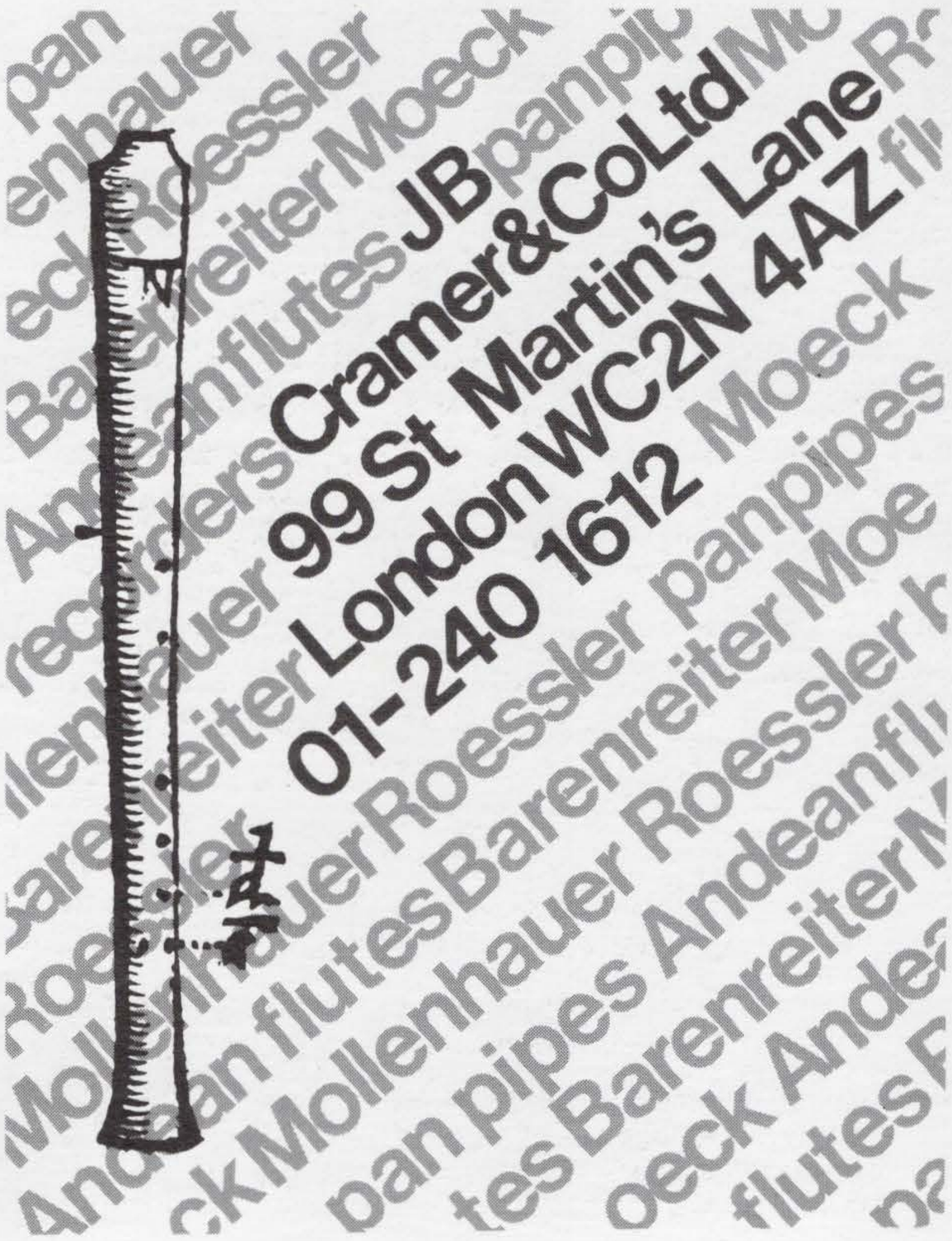

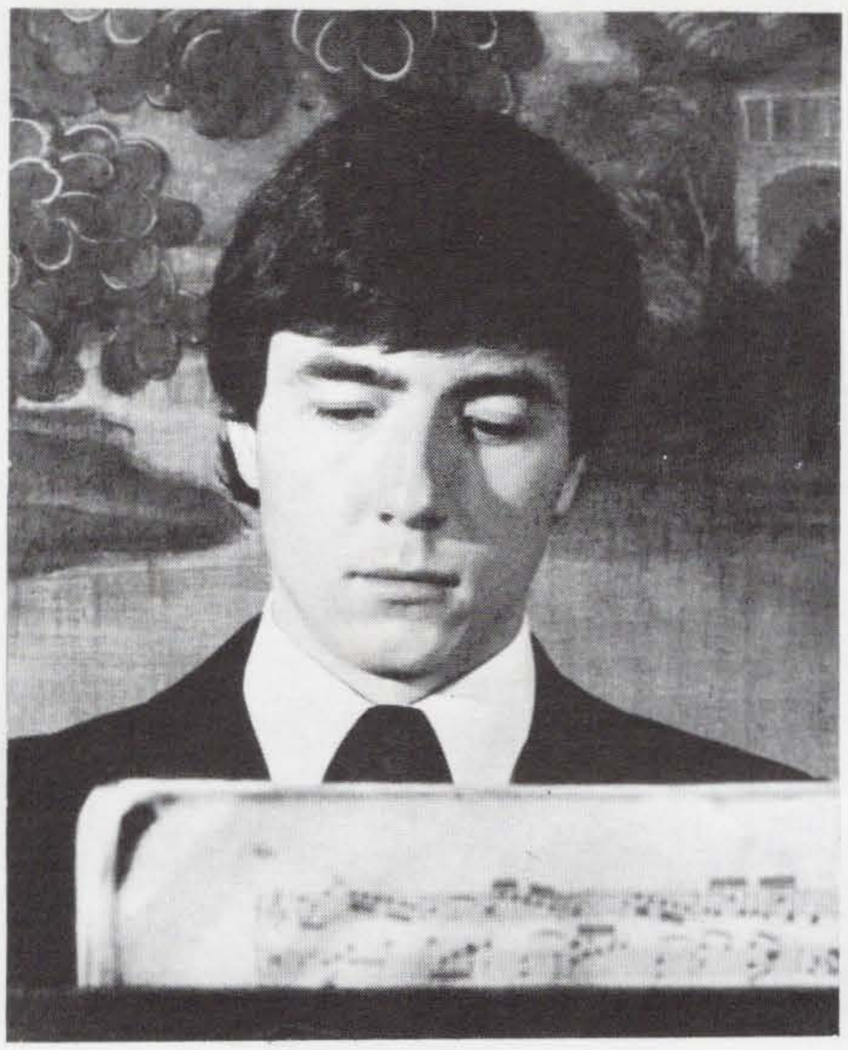

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that the instability of the clavicytherium was *wenig größer als des Claveßins* (only a little greater than that of the harpsichord), but then Adlung is speaking of type 2.

It is evident that the idea of a keyed harp is far older than transpires from instruments by Berger, Dietz or Lutz. It has happened more than once in the history of musical instruments—and of music in general, for that matter—that inventions were made independently at various moments of history.

[1] M. Praetorius, *Syntagma musicum II* (Wolfenbüttel, 1619), pp. 66-7, Sciagr. Col. XV.
[2] Inv. no. MIR 1080. Cf. J. H. van der Meer, 'Beiträge zum Cembalobau in deutschen Sprachgebiet bis 1700', in *Anzeiger des Germanischen Nationalmuseums 1966*, pp. 103-133, especially pp. 112-15.
[3] F. Bonanni, *Gabinetto armonico* (Rome, 1723), p. 90.
[4] J. Adlung, *Musica mechanica organoedi* II (Berlin, 1768), pp. 121-2.
[5] De Castillon, *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire raisonné . . .*, Supplément 1776, art. 'Clavecin vertical'.
[6] N. J. Hüllmandel, art. 'Clavecin', in Framéry-Ginguené, *Musique* (Paris, 1891-1918), in Diderot-d'Alembert, *Encyclopédie méthodique*. Cf. R. Benton, 'Hüllmandel's Article on the Clavecin in the Encyclopédie Méthodique', *Galpin Society Journal* XV (1962), pp. 34-44, especially pp. 38-9.
[7] A. Kircher, *Musurgia universalis* I (Rome, 1650), p. 454 and Iconismus V. Cf. C. Krebs, 'Die besaiteten Klavierinstrumente bis zum Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts', *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* VIII (1892), pp. 91-126, especially p. 111.
[8] R. Russell, *The Harpsichord and Clavichord* (2nd ed., London, 1973), plates 77-8.
[9] Cf. C. Sachs, *Das Klavier* (Berlin, 1923), p. 22 and C. Sachs, *The History of Musical Instruments* (New York, 1940), p. 342.
[10] I am indebted to Dr Luisa Cervelli for having called my attention to this instrument. L. Cervelli, 'Per un catalogo degli strumenti a tastiera del Museo degli Antichi Strumenti Musicali', *Accademie e Biblioteche d'Italia* 44 (1976), pp. 305-343, especially pp. 328-9.
[11] Kunsthistorisches Museum Wien, *Katalog der Sammlung alter Musikinstrumente* I: *Saitenklaviere* (Vienna, 1966), no. 13. F. J. Hirt, *Meisterwerke des Klavierbaus* (Olten, 1955), pp. 16-17. Russell, op cit, plate 84. Van der Meer, op cit, p. 112. That Martinus Kaiser worked at Venice and afterwards was in service at the court of the elector Johann Wilhelm II of Pfalz-Neuburg at Düsseldorf, has been proved by R. Reuter in 'Die Instrumentenbauer Kaiser am Düsseldorfer Hof Johann Wilhelms II', *Musicae Scientiae Collectanea: Festschrift Karl Gustav Fellerer zum siebzigsten Geburtstag* (Cologne, 1973), pp. 484-493.
[12] J. Reiss, 'Pauli Paulirini de Praga Tractatus de musica (etwa 1450)', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* VII (1924-25), pp. 259-264, especially p. 263.
[13] G. Kinsky, *A History of Music in Pictures* (New York, 1951), plate 64, 3.
[14] S. Virdung, *Musica getutscht und außgezogen* (Basle, 1511), fol. B v, C III v-IV r.
[15] C. Sachs, *Real-Lexikon der Musikinstrumente* (Berlin, 1913), col. 217 b. Sachs, *History*, p. 339. See also J. Eisenberg, 'Virdung's Keyboard Illustrations', *Galpin Society Journal* XV (1962), pp. 82-8, and G. Stradner, 'Bemerkungen zu den besaiteten Tasteninstrumenten in Sebastian Virdungs *Musica getutscht*', *Der klangliche Aspekt beim Restaurieren von Saitenklavieren. Bericht der internationalen Tagung . . . am Institut für Aufführungspraxis der Hochschule für Musik und darstellende Kunst in Graz* (Graz, 1973), pp. 79-86.
[16] Praetorius, op cit, p. 67.
[17] See, for example, Van der Meer, 'Beiträge zum Cembalobau der Familie Ruckers', *Jahrbuch des Staatlichen Instituts für Musikforschung, Preußischer Kulturbesitz* (1971), pp. 100-153, especially p. 135. Also A. Neven, 'L'Arpicordo', *Acta Musicologica* XLII (1970), pp. 230-235.
[18] G. Kinsky, *Musikhistorisches Museum von Wilhelm Heyer in Cöln Katalog*, vol. I (Cologne, 1910), p. 87.
[19] Virdung, op cit, fol. J IV v.
[20] M. Agricola, *Musica instrumentalis deudsch* (Wittemberg, 1528).
[21] O. Luscinius, *Musurgia seu praxis musicae* (Strasburg, 1536).
[22] F. W. Galpin, *Old English Instruments of Music* (4th ed., London, 1965), pp. 219-20.
[23] L. Cervelli, 'Italienische Musikinstrumente in der Praxis des Generalbaß-Spiels: Das Arpichord', *Internationale Gesellschaft für Musikwissenschaft. Bericht über den siebenten internationalen musikwissenschaftlichen Kongress Köln 1958*, pp. 76-8. L. Cervelli, 'Arpicordo: mito di un nome e realtà di uno strumento', *Testimonianze studi e ricerche in onore di Guido M. Gatti (1892-1973)*, Quadrivium XIV (1973), pp. 187-195.
[24] R. Russell, *Victoria and Albert Museum Catalogue of Musical Instruments*. I *(Keyboard Instruments)* (London, 1968), no. 2.
[25] L. Zacconi, *Prattica di musica* (Venice, 1592), fol. 213 r.
[26] M. Mersenne, *Harmonie universelle* (Paris, 1636), Traité des instrumens, pp. 113-14.
[27] Sachs, *Real-Lexikon*, col. 217b.
[28] Kircher, op cit, p. 454.
[29] Kinsky, 'Hans Haiden, der Erfinder des nürnbergischen Geigenwerks', *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft* VI (1924).
[30] Adlung II, p. 139.
[31] I am grateful to Prof. Dr Ernst Emsheimer, former director of the Musikhistoriska Museet, for bringing this instrument to my notice.
[32] D. H. Boalch, *Makers of the Harpsichord and Clavichord 1440-1840* (2nd ed., Oxford, 1974), p. 57.
[33] I am grateful to Mr Reidar Sevåg of the Norsk Folkemusiksamling at Oslo University for bringing this instrument to my notice.
[34] A. J. Hipkins, *Musical Instruments, Historic, Rare, and Unique* (Edinburgh, 1888), pl. VI. A. J. Hipkins, *A Description and History of the Pianoforte and of the Older Keyboard Stringed Instruments* (London and New York, 1896), p. 73. Galpin, op cit, p. 98. P. James, *Early Keyboard Instruments* (London, 1930), pl. XXXIII. Hirt, op cit, p. 292.
[35] E. L. Gerber, *Historisch-Biographisches Lexicon der Tonkünstler* (Leipzig, 1790), under *Kurtz* (Joh.).
[36] M. H. Fuhrmann, *Musikalischer Trichter* (Frankfurt a.d. Spree, 1706).

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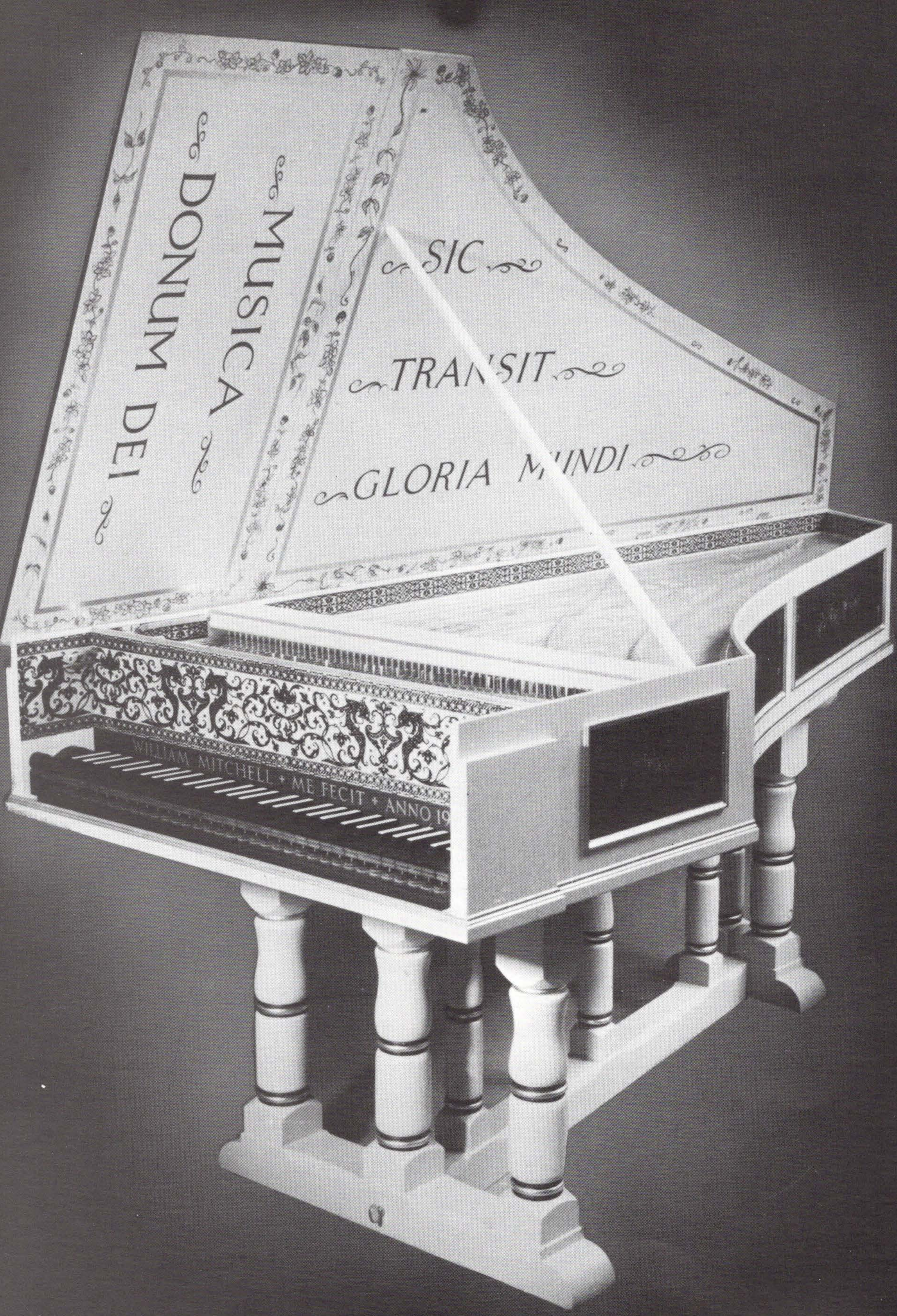
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A Summary of Music for Viols

GORDON DODD

How much music is there for the viols? And how much of that is available to players? On behalf of the Viola da Gamba Society, and with the welcome co-operation of many researchers and enthusiasts within and outside it, I have been compiling an index which can give reasonably comprehensive, though far from complete, answers to those questions.

In the lists which follow, an arbitrary choice has been made of music which either is intended primarily for viols or is considered eminently suitable for viols. Works in the following categories have been included:

a Elizabethan Consort Music, i.e. *In Nomines*, consort hymns, textless motets, fantasies and dances, many of which overlap with vocal repertoires but make acceptable viol consort music.

b Italian canzoni and ricercari from the 16th century, and North European airs and dances mainly from the early 17th century, which had many alternative instrumentations but which suit the viols well.

c The 17th-century English fantasies, airs and dances for viol consort.

d Solos, duets and trios for bass or treble viols, including the English divisions repertoire and the considerable French and German schools.

e All lyra-viol music, mainly from 17th-century England.

f Some arrangements, for viols, of other music.

On the far side of the arbitrary line lie the following, at least on this occasion:

g Fantasy-suites for violins, e.g. those of Coperario, Lawes and Jenkins.

h The vast collection of violinistic works, mainly from mid-17th-century England for Tr B, Tr Tr B, Tr Tr B B, etc, e.g. those by Coleman, Jenkins, Lawes, Christopher Gibbons and Locke.

i Viol obbligato and continuo parts, and trio sonatas with a viol as a melody instrument.

j 'Consort of six' and similar music, and consort songs.

List I consists of music mainly from English composers and sources, of which the Society has full records, all the accessible sources having been inspected by myself and other members of the Society.

List II consists of music, mainly from Continental composers and sources, of which the Society has merely the notation that such works exist. List II, in effect, is little more than a collation of information from Ernst Meyer,[1] Howard Mayer Brown[2] and Robin de Smet;[3] we have a great deal of ground to make up in this area.

Details of published works can be found, up to 1971, in de Smet. Later information can be found in publishers' lists and principally in the following:

a The *Musica Britannica* series.

b The Viola da Gamba Society's printed editions and its Supplementary Publications.

c The London Pro Musica Editions.

d The Minkoff facsimile reprints.

I am most grateful to Lucy Robinson and Peter Holman for their help in checking and supplementing the first drafts of these lists.

[1] *English Chamber Music* (London, 1946). A revised and enlarged edition is to be published in the near future with the title *Early English Music*.
[2] *Instrumental Music printed before 1600* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965).
[3] *Published Music for the Viola da Gamba and other viols* (Detroit, 1971).

Key

Information is given in the following form:

Composer's name and approximate period of work. 'E', 'M' and 'L' denote 'early', 'middle' and 'late'; '16', '17' and '18' denote the appropriate century.
Numbers of works 'unpublished/published'.

For example, Abel, whose work appeared in the early 18th century, is here credited with solo non-divisions music: no works unpublished and 8 published.

Where possible, numbers stand for individual pieces or movements. But in many cases it is necessary to use another unit, indicated by the letter prefixes B = Book, S = Suite or Sonata, and C = Concerto. Where individual pieces have to be mentioned in the same breath as books, etc, the prefix P is used.

Works for solo viol and basso continuo are listed under 'Solo', and those for two viols and bc under 'à2'.

A few cautious attributions of anonymous works have been silently included.

Numbers of works published take account of some forthcoming publications.

List I Works for viols, mainly from English composers and sources

Composer and period		*Solo divisions*	*Solo other*	*à2 divisions*	*à2 other*	*à3*	*à4*	*à5*	*à6*	*à7*	*Lyra*
Anonymous		41/1	90/2	3/0	63/2	16/0	38/4	84/1	7/0	1/0	405/10
Abel	E18	–	0/8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Adson	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	20/1	10/0	–	–
Alcock	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	1/0	–
Allison	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Amner	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–
Anthonye	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Aston	E16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–
Baldwin	L16	–	–	–	4/0	5/0	2/1	1/0	–	–	–
Ballarde	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–

Composer and period		*Solo divisions*	*Solo other*	*à2 divisions*	*à2 other*	*à3*	*à4*	*à5*	*à6*	*à7*	*Lyra*
Baltazar	M17	2/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bannister	M17	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	2/0
Bassano, A	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/1	–	–	–
Bassano, H	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/0	–	–	–
Bates, J	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Bates, T	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12/0
Bevin	E17	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	2/0	–	–	–
[Black?]	16	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Blankes	L16	–	–	–	–	6/0	1/0	2/0	1/0	–	–
Bosley	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3/0
Boys	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Bramley	16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–
Brewer	M17	–	–	–	–	–	6/0	–	–	–	–
Brewster	16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	1/0	–	–	–
Browne, J	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/0	–	–	–
Bucke	16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–
Bull	L16, E17	–	–	–	–	0/1	0/1	0/1	–	–	–
Burroughs	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/0
Butler	M17	14/0	2/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Byrd	L16, E17	–	–	–	–	0/4	0/29	0/10	0/4	–	2/0
Carlton	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Chetwoode	E17	–	–	–	–	3/1	–	–	–	–	–
Clerke	E17	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–
Cobbold	E17	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	2/0	–	–	–
Cocke	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Coleman	M17	1/0	1/0	–	–	–	–	0/1	3/2	–	17/2
Colledge, E	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Collier	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Cooke, R	M17	–	–	–	–	4/0	–	–	–	–	–
Coperario	E17	–	–	–	18/4	0/10	0/8	39/10	3/4	–	15/0
Corkine	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/19
Cranford	M17	–	–	–	–	2/0	0/4	2/1	7/1	–	3/0
Crosbey	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Cutting	E17	–	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/1
Cutts	E17	1/0	8/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Daman	L16	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	2/0	–	–
Daniell	E17	–	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dano	L16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–
Deering	E17	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	15/5	6/1	–	–
[della Viola?]	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–
Dowglas	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–
Dowland	E17	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	0/21	–	–	–
Drew	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/0
East	E17	–	–	–	0/8	0/29	0/12	0/8	–	–	1/0
Eglestone	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–
Elliott	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0
Esto	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	40/0
Facy	E17	3/1	4/3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Falle	L17	–	2/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Farnels, F	M17	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Farrant	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	4/1
Ferrabosco I	L16	–	–	–	1/0	1/0	1/0	4/0	2/0	–	–
Ferrabosco II	E17	–	2/0	–	–	–	2/19	7/15	9/3	–	11/67
Finger	L17, E18	1/0	41/0	–	34/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ford	E17	–	–	–	1/0	–	0/1	5/1	–	–	0/18
Gaultier	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Gerrarde	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5/0
Gibbons, C	M17	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–	–
Gibbons, E	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Gibbons, O	E17	–	–	–	0/6	2/14	0/3	0/4	6/3	–	–
Gibbons, R	E17	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–	–
Gibbs	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Giles, N	E17	–	–	–	2/0	1/0	–	–	–	–	–
Gill	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	1/0	–	–
Giovanelli	L16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Goldar	16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–
Golding, Sir E	L17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/0
Goodall	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7/0
Gorton	E18	–	0/1	1/0	11/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gregorie, T	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	45/0
Gregory, W	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16/0

Composer and period		*Solo divisions*	*Solo other*	*à2 divisions*	*à2 other*	*à3*	*à4*	*à5*	*à6*	*à7*	*Lyra*
Grome, J	L17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0
Guy, N	E17	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–	–
Hake (Hawkes)	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Handel	E18	–	?/4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Harding	E17	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	0/1	–	–
Hely, B	L17	–	9/0	–	6/0	6/0	–	–	–	–	–
Hilton	E17	–	–	–	–	0/6	–	–	–	–	–
Hingeston	M17	2/0	–	–	29/7	74/0	16/0	7/3	6/0	–	–
Holborne	L16	–	–	–	–	0/2	–	0/65	–	–	–
Hudson	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	24/0
Hume	E17	–	0/32	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/91
Ives, S	M17	–	–	–	10/0	–	0/4	1/0	1/1	–	89/7
Ives, S (jun)	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/0
[Jackson?]	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Jeffreys, G	M17	–	–	–	–	4/2	–	–	–	–	–
Jeffries, M	L16	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–
Jenkins	17	7/0	1/0	12/0	43/0	32/17	7/10	0/20	0/16	–	236/0
Johnson, E	E17	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	0/1	–	–	–
Johnson, R (sen)	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/2	–	–	–
Johnson, R (jun)	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/1
Jones	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Kingelake	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0
[Kirbye?]	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Lauder	16	–	–	–	–	–	?/1	–	–	–	–
Laurence	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Lawes, W	M17	–	–	2/5	–	–	4/2	3/13	3/15	–	76/3
Leetherland	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–
[Lestrange, R?]	M17	5/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Lillie	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	20/0
Locke	M17	–	1/0	–	0/12	–	0/24	–	–	–	–
Loosemore, H	M17	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–	–
Lully	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Lupo, J	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Lupo, Thos	E17	–	–	–	–	10/20	8/5	26/6	10/2	–	–
Mace, T	L17	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–	–	17/3
Mallorie	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	3/0	1/0	–	–
Marks	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6/0
Mason	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	9/0	–	–	–
Maynarde	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3/7
Mericocke	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Mico	M17	–	–	–	4/0	7/0	12/11	1/6	–	–	–
Milton	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/1	1/1	–	–
Morley	L16	–	–	–	0/9	–	–	3/0	–	–	–
Moss	L17	–	3/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	104/0
Mudde, H	16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	2/0	–	–	–
Mundy, J	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	3/0	2/0	–	–
Mundy, W	L16	–	–	–	–	–	–	7/0	–	–	–
Nayler	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Nicholson	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–
Nicolai	L17	–	–	–	–	3/0	–	–	–	–	–
Norcombe	M17	35/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0
Okeover	M17	–	–	–	–	10/0	–	7/2	–	–	–
Paget	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Parsley	M16	–	–	–	–	–	1/1	4/1	–	–	–
Parsons	M16	–	–	–	–	–	3/0	2/2	0/1	0/2	–
P[earson?]	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–
Pedersen, M	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–
Peerson	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	0/13	–	–
[Pethick?]	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Philips	L16, E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	9/4	2/1	–	–
Picforth	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Pierkin	17	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–	–
Pilkington	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–
Polewheele	M17	5/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Poole, A	M17	8/0	7/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Poul	M17	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Poynt	16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	1/0	–	–	–

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Composer and period		*Solo divisions*	*Solo other*	*à2 divisions*	*à2 other*	*à3*	*à4*	*à5*	*à6*	*à7*	*Lyra*
Preston	16	–	–	–	–	1/0	1/0	–	–	–	–
Primrose	M17	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–	–	–
Purcell, H	L17	2/0	3/0	–	2/0	0/3	0/10	0/1	0/1	0/1	–
Pyttyns	16	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–	–
Mr R	M17	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Randall	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Ravenscroft	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/4	–	–	–
Read (family)	17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6/0
Reade	L16, E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–
Rede [another?]	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2/0
Renold	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Robinson, T	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
W R[owe]	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Sadler	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Schuts, J	M17	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Shepherd	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–
Sherlie	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	18/0
Simmes	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	6/1	–	–	–
Simpson, C	M17	11/11	–	4/0	14/6	24/0	–	–	–	–	42/0
Stannar	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Stellkins, D	L17	2/0	10/0	–	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Stellkins, F	L17	–	3/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Stellkins, [?]		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15/0
Stevenson	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7/0	–	–
Stoning	16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	3/0	–	–	–
Strogers	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	7/0	1/0	–	–
Sumarte	M17	–	7/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	25/2
Tallis	M16	–	–	–	–	–	0/2	1/0	–	–	–
Tanner	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Taverner	E16	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–	–
Taylor, R	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	14/0
Thorne	M16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–
Tomkins, J	E17	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tomkins, T	E17	–	–	–	–	3/14	1/1	5/4	1/5	–	–
Tregian, F(II)	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–
Tye	M16	–	–	–	–	0/1	0/1	5/27	0/1	–	–
Wadham, R	L17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3/0
Walfardt	M17	–	–	–	7/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ward, J	E17	–	–	–	5/1	–	3/3	1/13	7/2	–	–
[Ward, J (jun?)]	M17	–	–	–	–	–	6/14	–	–	–	–
Warner	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/0
Watkins	E17	–	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–	–
Webster	M17	2/0	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–	–	–
Weelkes	L16, E17	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	3/4	0/1	–	–
[Westley?]	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Whitbrooke	16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–
White, R	M16	–	–	–	–	–	1/11	0/2	–	–	–
White, W	E17	–	–	–	1/1	0/1	–	0/3	5/3	–	–
Wilbye	E17	–	–	–	–	–	3/0	–	0/1	–	–
Wilder, P van	16	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–
Wilkinson	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	3/0	–	–	–
Willis	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Wilson	E17	–	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	1/0
Withy, E	M17	–	0/1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Withy, F	M17	5/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Withy, J	M17	3/0	1/0	1/0	21/1	–	1/0	1/0	–	–	16/0
Woodcocke	16	–	–	–	–	–	–	3/2	–	–	–
Woodeson, L	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	4/0	–	–	–
Woodson, T	16	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–	–	1/0
Woodington	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3/0
Young, P	M17	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Young, W	M17	2/0	4/0	2/0	23/0	9/1	–	–	–	–	26/0

List II Works for viols, mainly from continental composers and sources

Composer and period		*Solo*	*à2*	*à3*	*à4*	*à5*	*à6*	*à7 or more*
Anonymous		S0/12	5/6	–	–	–	–	–
Agostini	L16	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–
Ahle, J G	L17	10/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ahle, J R	M17	–	←	———	B2/0	——— →	–	–
Aichinger	E17	–	–	–	7/0	4/0	–	–
Albarti [de Venetia?]	M16	–	–	–	–	0/1	–	–
Albertini	L17?	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Altenburg	E17	–	–	–	–	–	17/0	–
Arnold, G	M17	1/0	13/0	9/0	21/0	–	–	–
Aschenbrenner	L17	S1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Attaignant	M16	–	–	–	0/110	0/2	0/1	–
Avenarius	E17	–	–	–	←38/0→		–	–
Bach, C P E	L18	S0/2 C0/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bach, J S	E18	S0/3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Banchieri, A	L16	–	–	–	1/11	–	–	1/0
Barges	M16	–	–	0/3	–	–	–	–
Barrière, E B J	M18	S6/0	–	–	–	–	—	–
Barrière, J	18	S?/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bassano, [?]	L16	4/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bassano, G	L16	–	–	9/11	–	–	–	–
Bateman	E17	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–
Baudringer	L17	S1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Benda	M18	S?/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bendusi (ed)	M16	–	–	–	0/24	–	–	–
Bernabei	L17	–	S12/0	–	–	–	–	–
Blainville	M18	S6/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bleier	E17	–	–	–	6/0	49/0	–	–
Boismortier	E18	C0/1 B1/0	B0/1	–	–	–	–	–
Borchgrevinck	E17	–	–	–	–	5/0	–	–
Brade (c & ed)	E17	–	–	–	4/13	52/62	34/1	–
Buona	L16	–	–	12/0	–	–	–	–
Buus, J	M16	–	–	–	18/2	–	–	–
Buxtehude	L17	S0/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cappus	E18	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Casa, G dalla	L16	10/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cato, Diomedes	E17	–	–	–	0/1	1/0	1/0	–
du Caurroy	E17	–	–	0/9	10/22	0/7	0/4	–
Cavaccio	L16	–	–	–	21/0	–	–	–
Cavazzoni	M16	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–
Chedeville	M18	–	?/6	–	–	–	–	–
Chezam	E17	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Christenius	E17	–	–	–	6/0	0/15	–	–
Colin	M16	–	–	–	0/1	–	–	–
Conforti	M16	–	–	1/0	14/0	–	–	–
Cornet	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Corrette	M18	?/S1	?/S1	–	–	–	–	–
Couperin, F	E18	S0/17	S0/2	–	–	–	–	–
du Cousu	M17	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Demantius	E17	–	–	–	0/10+	33/11+	34/0	–
Dollé	E18	B1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dretzel	E17	–	–	–	3/0	–	–	1/0
Dubuisson	L17	5/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dumont	M17	–	–	0/2	0/1	–	–	–
Eccelius	M17	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–
Engelmann	E17	–	–	–	0/2	67/0	–	–
Erbach	L16	–	–	–	–	1/1	–	–
d'Estrees (ed)	M16	–	–	168/1	15/0	17/0	–	–
Farina	E17	–	7/0	18/0	112/0	–	–	–
Farmer	E17	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–
Fonghetti	L16	–	16/0	–	–	–	–	–
Formschneider	M16	–	–	100/0	–	–	–	–
Forqueray, A	M18	300?/ B1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Franck, M	E17	–	–	–	73/26	44/2	36/0	1/0
Frescobaldi	E17	–	–	?/1	?/22	–	–	?/1
Freudenreich	E17	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–

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Direction Paul Van Nevel

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INFORMATION

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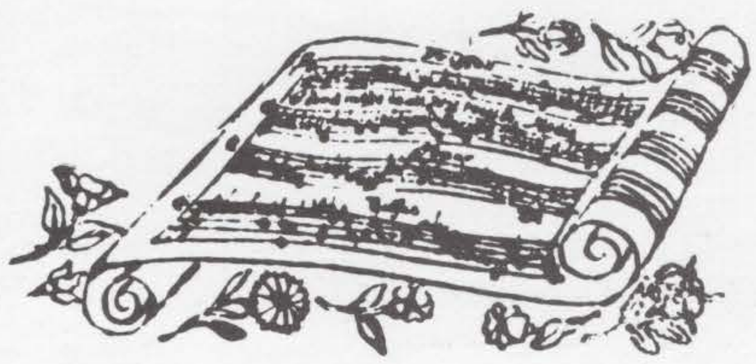
Composer and period		*Solo*	*à2*	*à3*	*à4*	*à5*	*à6*	*à7 or more*
Fritsch	E17	–	–	–	25/12	–	–	–
Funck	L17	–	–	–	0/43	–	–	–
Fux	E18	–	S0/1	–	–	–	–	–
Gabrieli, A	L16	–	–	–	0/7	–	–	0/2
Gabrieli, G	E17	–	7	–	?/4	–	–	?/6
Galilei, V	L16	–	0/2	–	?/12	–	–	–
Ganassi	M16	0/8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gascon	M17	–	–	–	S1/0	–	–	–
Gastoldi	L16	–	6/14	–	–	–	–	–
Gerle (ed)	M16	–	–	–	20/16	–	–	–
Gervaise	M16	–	–	–	0/128	0/59	–	–
Getzmann	E17	–	–	–	24/0	–	–	–
Gistov	E17	–	–	–	–	0/4	–	–
Grabbe	E17	–	–	–	0/3	0/5	–	–
Grecke	L17	–	4/0	–	–	–	–	–
Greb	E17	–	–	–	–	3/3	–	–
Greventhal	E17	–	–	–	–	1/0	–	–
Groh	E17	–	–	?/21	12/0	67/0	–	–
Guami	L16	–	–	–	2/0	6/17	–	?/1
Guillet	E17	–	–	–	–	0/24	–	–
Hacquart, C	L17	S11/1	S0/10	–	–	?/1	–	–
Hacquart, P	L17	S4/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hagius	E17	–	–	3/0	1/0	7/0	–	–
Hammer	L18	S?/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hammerschmidt	M17	–	–	0/23	–	0/67	–	–
Hase	E17	–	–	←		40/0		→
Hassler	E17	–	–	–	0/2	0/1	0/11	0/3
Haussmann	E17	–	–	–	25/0	110/?	34/0	–
Hentzschel	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
d'Hervelois, de Caix	E18	B4/2	?/?	–	–	–	–	–
Hesse	E18	?/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hessen and Bartholomaeus (ed)	E16	–	–	0/49	0/1	–	–	–
Heudelinne	E18	B1/0	B1/0	–	–	–	–	–
Höffler	L17	S0/12	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hotman	M17	?/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hugard		B1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ingegnieri	L16	–	–	–	0/2	–	–	–
a Kempis, N	E17	1/0	–	–	–	1/0	–	–
Krombhorn	E17	–	–	–	B1/0	–	–	–
Krosch	E17	–	–	–	3/?	–	–	–
Kühnel, A	L17	S5/3	S6/0	–	–	–	–	–
Lasso	L16	–	0/12	–	–	–	–	–
Leffloth	M18	0/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Legrenzi	M17	–	–	–	1/1	–	–	–
Lejeune	L16	–	–	–	0/2	0/1	–	–
Licino	M16	–	20/0	–	–	–	–	–
Lindner	L16	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Lupachino	M16	–	12/2	–	–	–	–	–
Lütkemann	L16	–	–	–	–	19/4	9/0	–
Lyttich	E17	–	–	–	–	13/0	–	–
de Machy	L17	S0/8	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mainerio	L16	–	–	–	0/21	–	–	–
Malvezzi	L16	–	–	–	10/0	–	?/3	–
Marais, M	E18	←	568/28	→	–	–	–	–
Marais, R	E18	66/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Marc	E18	B1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Marcello	E18	S?/2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Marini	M17	S?/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Maschera	L16	–	–	–	15/6	–	–	–
Mazza	L16	–	–	16/0	–	–	–	–
Meder	L17	–	1/0	–	–	–	–	–
Mercker	E17	–	–	–	10/0	45/0+	–	–
Merulo	L16	–	–	–	19/1	–	–	–
Metru, N	M17	–	0/42	–	–	–	–	–
Moderne	M16	–	–	–	0/29	–	–	–
Möller	E17	–	–	–	–	20/0	–	–
Mons	E17	–	–	–	–	2/0	–	–
Morel	E18	B1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Moritz, Landgr	E17	–	–	–	0/13	–	–	1/0
Moy	M17	–	11/0	–	–	–	–	–
Notari	E17	1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–

Composer and period		*Solo*	*à2*	*à3*	*à4*	*à5*	*à6*	*à7 or more*
Orologio	L16	–	–	–	–	8/0	20/0	–
Ortiz	M16	0/28	–	–	–	–	–	–
Otto	E17	–	–	–	–	62/0	–	–
Padovano, A	L16	–	–	–	0/13	0/1	–	–
Palestrina	L16	–	–	–	?/8	–	–	–
Parabosco, H	M16	–	–	–	0/2	–	–	–
Peetrino	L16	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Peuerl	E17	–	–	30/0	0/46	0/10	–	–
Pfeiffer	M18	S?/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Phalèse and Bellere (ed)	L16	–	–	–	57/50	–	–	–
Posch	E17	–	–	–	44/12	12/9	–	–
Praetorius, B	E17	–	–	–	–	26/0	–	–
Praetorius, M	E17	–	–	←		B0/3		→ –
Radack	L17	S1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Raval	L16	–	–	–	20/0	–	–	–
Reinken	L17	–	30/0	–	–	–	–	–
Richman	L17	B1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rivander	E17	–	–	←		B2/0		→ –
Rognoni	L16	4/0	–	–	–	–	–	?/1
Rosenmüller	E17	–	–	←		B2/0		→ –
[Rosier], Carolo	E18	–	S9/1	–	–	–	–	–
Roth	E17	–	–	–	←74/0		→	
Ruffo, V	M16	–	–	16/7	–	–	–	–
St Colombe	L17	–	0/67	–	–	–	–	–
Scaletta	L16	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Schäffer	E17	–	–	36/0	58/0	–	–	–
Schaffrath	M18	S0/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Scheidt	E17	–	–	–	0/19	0/13	–	–
			also:	←		B4/P17		→
Schein	E17	–	–	–	–	?/S10, P7	0/1	–
Schenck	L17, E18	S0/47	S0/12	–	–	–	–	–
Schop	M17	–	–	9/0	12/0	36/0	5/0	–
Schultz, J	E17	–	8/0	13/0	10/0	32/0	1/0	–
				also:	←34/6→			
Schuyt	E17	–	–	–	–	–	–	14/0
Schwarzkopf	E18	S2/0	S1/0	–	–	–	–	–
Segui, J	M16	–	–	–	0/13	–	–	–
Siefert	M17	–	–	–	–	–	–	1/0
Simpson, T	E17	–	–	–	6/2	21/24	–	–
Snep	L17	S1/0	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sommer	E17	–	–	–	–	11/0	–	–
Sponga	L16	–	–	–	18/0	–	–	–
Staden	E17	–	–	←		B4/1		→
Stephani	E17	–	–	–	–	10/?	–	–
Steuccius	E17	–	–	–	3/0	6/0	5/0	1/0
Strunck	M17	–	–	–	–	–	S0/1	–
Susato	M16	–	–	–	0/57	–	–	–
Tartini	M18	C0/1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tasso, J M	M16	–	14/1	–	–	–	–	–
Telemann	E18	0/4	–	–	–	–	–	–
du Tetre	E16	–	–	–	0/25	0/2	–	–
Tiburtino	M16	–	–	13/0	–	–	–	–
Töpfer, C	E17	–	–	–	5/0	–	–	–
Vecchi, O	L16	–	2/0	–	1/0	1/0	–	–
Verso, A il	L16	–	–	7/0	–	–	–	–
Vicentino	L16	–	–	–	1/0	–	–	–
Vinci, P	L16	–	29/0	7/0	–	–	–	–
Vintzius	E17	–	–	–	←27/3	→	–	–
Völckel	E17	–	–	–	← 9/0+	→	–	–
Widmann, E	E17	–	–	–	←24/7+	→	–	–
Willaert, A	M16	–	–	3/18	0/3	–	–	–



Continuo realizations in a Playford songbook

PETER HOLMAN

From the surviving English tutors on continuo playing written or printed in the 17th century, the impression is easily gained that style was simpler for both keyboard and hand-plucked instruments than many editors and modern performers imagine. Those by Locke and (apparently) Blow printed by Arnold,[1] and the slightly later ones by Godfrey Keller[2] and Nicola Matteis[3] all concur in concentrating their attention on providing rules of thumb for unfigured bass, and on interpreting correctly the given figures in a simple style. A glance at the contemporary treatises from Italy, Germany and France also printed by Arnold[4] confirms that professional continuo players taught their largely amateur pupils to play in a correct but unadventurous style, a style of playing that leaves all florid ornamentation to the melody parts that the player is accompanying. This is in sharp contrast to a number of 18th-century treatises, in particular those by Gasperini[5] and C. P. E. Bach,[6] which recommend by precept and example that the continuo player should spin an elaborate countermelody to the written parts to enrich and embellish the texture. The only 17th-century author who, to my knowledge, set down elaborate examples of continuo playing, was Thomas Mace, who in a section on theorbo playing at the end of *Musick's Monument,*[7] wrote out some interesting tablature examples of decorated cadences and sequences. The tendency to regard Mace as an eccentric amateur, however, must in this case be resisted, following the discovery of highly elaborate handwritten continuo realizations inserted between the staves of a copy of Henry Playford's *The Banquet of Musick* (1688–92)[8] in the possession of the Bodleian Library. These were first noticed by Professor Ian Spink in his book *English Song, Dowland to Purcell* (London, 1974), who mentioned them in his discussion of Purcell's 'symphony song' *How pleasant is this flow'ry plain* (p.216–17). A look at the complete set of books reveals that the anonymous writer has given five songs this treatment, all in the same way. They are:

Book 1 (1688) p.41–7 Henry Purcell: *How pleasant is this flow'ry plain*
Book 2 (1688) p.1 Robert King: *Forgive me, if your looks*
Book 3 (1689) p.8–9 John Blow: *Bring my mistress to my arms*
Book 4 (1690) p.2–3 Robert King: *Whilst Europe is alarm'd*
Book 5 (1691) p.15–17 Raphael Courteville: *Fly from Myrtillo*

What is remarkable about these realizations is not only their quality, which is evident from the example printed below, but the way in which the line varies between an independent alto line, shadowing and outlining the handwritten figures, and a decoration of the printed bass line, which is sometimes fitted onto the printed stave. The usage of the period, as well as the range of the parts (never above c^1), and their style, persuades me that the theorbo might be the intended instrument, though all the realizations are playable on the harpsichord. I give (opposite) one of the shorter songs complete, as Professor Spink has already printed the most remarkable passage of the Purcell. I reproduce it exactly as found in the source, except that I have indicated the handwritten additions to the printed bass stave by upward stems where necessary. Presumably the player should harmonize in the ordinary way whenever the added line ceases, for this line should be taken merely as a hint for realization; just as many professional players today annotate their printed copies. The implication is that this book is just one of these professional working copies.

[1] F. T. Arnold, *The Art of Accompaniment from a Thorough-Bass* (London, 1931, repr. New York, 1965), vol. 1, pp.154–72.
[2] ibid, pp. 247–50.
[3] see Sylvia Garney, 'The use of hand-plucked instruments in the continuo body: Nicola Matteis', *Music and Letters* April 1966, pp.135–40.
[4] see Arnold op cit vol. 1, pp.1–154.
[5] ibid, pp. 250–5.
[6] C. P. E. Bach, *Essay on the true art of playing keyboard instruments,* transl. W. J. Mitchell (London, 1949, repr. 1974), pp.313–429.
[7] Thomas Mace, *Musick's Monument* (London, 1676; facs. ed. Paris, 1968) pp.216–30.
[8] see C. L. Day and E. B. Boswell, *English Song-Books 1651–1702* (London, 1940), pp.73–81.

Banquet of Music II, P.1. Bodleian Copy

Robert King
(fl. 1680 - 1711)

Forgive me, if your looks.

Printed treble

Handwritten realisation

Handwritten realisation and printed bass

For-give me, if your looks, I thought, did once some change dis-

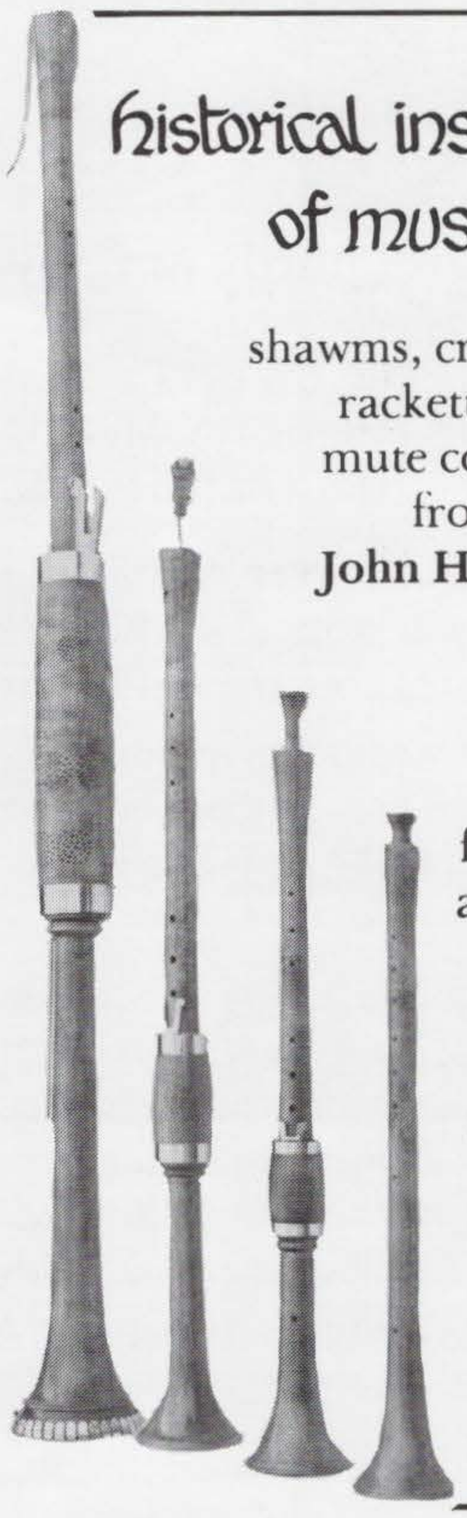
-cov - er; to be too jeal - ous, is the fault of ev - 'ry ten - der

lov - er: my truth those kind re - proach - es show, which you blame so sev-

-ere - ly; a sign a - las! You lit - tle know, what

'tis to love sin - cere - ly.

The torment of a long despair,
I did in silence smother;
But 'tis a pain I cannot bear,
To think, you love another.
My fate depends alone on you,
I am but what you make me;
Divinely blest, if you prove true,
Undone if you forsake me.



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Performers' Guide

ROGER BRAY *introduces a new regular feature—a column intended to help performers* and *audiences in their search for solutions to technical problems and for works to add to their repertory—everything in fact which will add to their enjoyment in performing early music. Please send all letters, queries, etc, to Performers' Guide,* Early Music, *Ely House, 37 Dover Street, London W1, or to Roger Bray, Manchester University Music Department.*

Because it may take us some time to get round to your problem, and some time to sort it out when it has been aired, I shall welcome letters to suggest topics for discussion, to complain about unfair remarks, and to supply additional information. It's important for professionals who have faced the performing problems (though not necessarily solved them) to pass on their experience to others, and it is equally important for those embarking on early music to be prepared to build on others' experience.

That this column is starting in an issue devoted to choral music is particularly fortunate. The voice is the cheapest instrument of all. I do not believe it needs expensive tuition, just plenty of experience; you do not need to hire a van to transport it; and, above all, it was the most universal of instruments in pre-classical music, no doubt for these very reasons. Songs are made to be sung and not just played, especially when (as is usual) they have verses and refrains. A straight-through performance of one verse and one refrain of such a song is absurd, and, with the use of voices we can achieve a respectable piece (in terms of length) for quite a modest outlay of rehearsal time, a feature never to be underrated.

The problem which bedevils the would-be performer more often than any other is that of catching up on information which may be known already to the expert; at least that has been my experience when I have thought about performing a piece from a period slightly unfamiliar to me, and if it worries me, despite my having a whole library of books and knowledgeable colleagues to consult, how much more must it worry those without access to such advice. I therefore propose to begin by looking at evidence, some of it now quite venerable in academic circles, which is still not known by many well-meaning groups. So—new readers start here.

There are three central questions to be asked by the choir director contemplating a move into early music: what he should perform, how he should perform it, and how much of his choir he should use. (Once these points are settled the real fun begins, with consideration of pitch, scoring, speeds, and accidentals moving to the top of the list, but this must await another occasion.) Although few choirs dare to consider the prospect, it is perfectly feasible to plan a concert of music all from before 1650 or so, with great variety of both style and forces, based around a choir of 20-25 singers—as long as some of them have a breather occasionally.

At the risk of being thought negative, we must begin by ruling out of court certain categories of music which the full choir should *not* sing, beginning with music before about 1400, for the reasons which Bukofzer[1] adduced as long ago as 1940. Such music, whether sacred or secular, is for soloists, i.e. one voice to a part, and it will be ruined by more than those forces. This exclusion may seem mean, but it may be turned to advantage if such pieces are included in the concert and sung by the correct forces, thus at the same time introducing contrast and the breather I mentioned a moment ago for the bulk of the choir. Another restricted area for choirs is of course that of the madrigal which is generally for soloists and hardly ever for choir. In a few Italian examples with specific ceremonial connections a choir is appropriate, but even the most lavish English occasions do not seem to require more than one voice per part. I have recently been re-reading the account of the entertainment mounted in 1591 by the Earl of Hertford at Elvetham, Hampshire, for Queen Elizabeth, and, lavish though the provisions were, with a specially constructed lake, allegorical islands, boats, musicians dressed up, etc, the songs sung before the Queen, even on this splendid occasion—and outdoors—had one voice per part. It follows that less elaborate occasions would not need a larger group and that the music was conceived for such performance. It is difficult enough to follow the words of contrapuntal music when sung by soloists without having to overcome the general chaos which results from a vast horde of competing voices. Actually, of course, as Kerman points out in *The Elizabethan Madrigal,*[2] a large number of 'madrigals' were not originally conceived for wholly vocal performance at all, but for a single voice accompanied by viols or lute. The fact that the composer was prepared to re-arrange such pieces for a vocal group justifies only solo performance, not a choral society.

Madrigal choirs may therefore wonder what they should sing. There is a huge range of church music from 1400 onwards, some of it very jolly; the world (or at least the church side of it) is still your oyster, and for a change, in the

CHRISTOPHER CHALLEN

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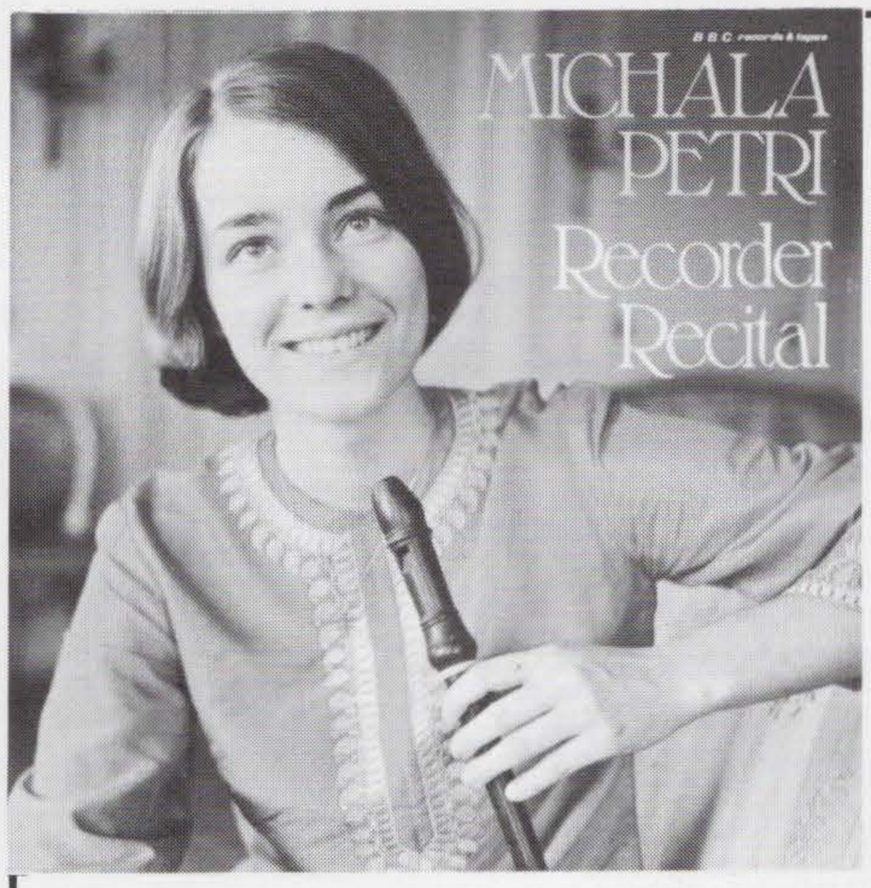

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middle of your concert, you can introduce contrast by putting in some secular pieces sung by the correct forces, thus achieving the contrast which must have struck people at the time. If your recital is to be in rather a small hall, there is no need to worry; a carefully-chosen programme will still be appropriate. Although Peter le Huray pointed it out some time ago,[3] I imagine that many people must still be unaware that the various chapels royal of Tudor and Jacobean times (especially Whitehall, the most commonly used, as far as we know) were very small, probably no more in most cases than 90′×30′, and not very lofty either. Since most of the major composers working in England at that time were in the Chapel Royal, a cosy setting for their music is ideal, although choirs must face up to the fact that they cannot rely on a generous acoustic to conceal their inadequacies. As for English Catholic music after the Reformation, it must have been performed in the home, rather surreptitiously, or in the domestic chapel which is often tiny. A huge amount of Continental music, written to Latin sacred texts but not strictly liturgical, was also for home use, as Lowinsky[4] showed thirty years ago. So the lack of a handy Sistine Chapel need not deter you from including a great deal of choral church music.

There are problems in choosing the music and presenting it adequately, however, which are not always solved by the expert who has prepared the edition. For the time being I have room only to deal with the general problems, but I hope, given the slightest encouragement, to move on in due course to the really interesting performance questions. If you have been accustomed to performing either English 'madrigals' or English post-Reformation church music, you have generally been well-served by your editor (usually Fellowes, who possessed a remarkable instinct for coming to the right conclusion, sometimes, one feels, without quite knowing the reason, but with great perspicacity). This, I imagine, is the repertory with which most choirs are familiar. However, if you wish to extend your range of music backwards in England, or abroad at all, then you are entering an area in which the musicologists are by no means agreed. As a result, the edition from which you have to perform has probably not been prepared with you, the performer, in mind, and it may not show the music at the right pitch (if indeed this is known), or with the right voices, accidentals, word underlay, or any speed indications. So beware. It is precisely to air, and perhaps solve, such problems that this column is intended, and I shall grasp this nettle in the next issue, which will also provide some figures on choir sizes of the period from about 1400 to about 1600.

[1] M. Bukofzer, 'The Beginnings of Choral Polyphony', first published in a rather difficult to acquire journal of 1940, but now available in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Music* (New York, 1950).

[2] J. Kerman, *The Elizabethan Madrigal* (New York, 1962).

[3] P. le Huray, *Music and the Reformation in England* (London, 1967).

[4] E. E. Lowinsky, *Secret Chromatic Art in the Netherlands Motet* (New York, 1946).

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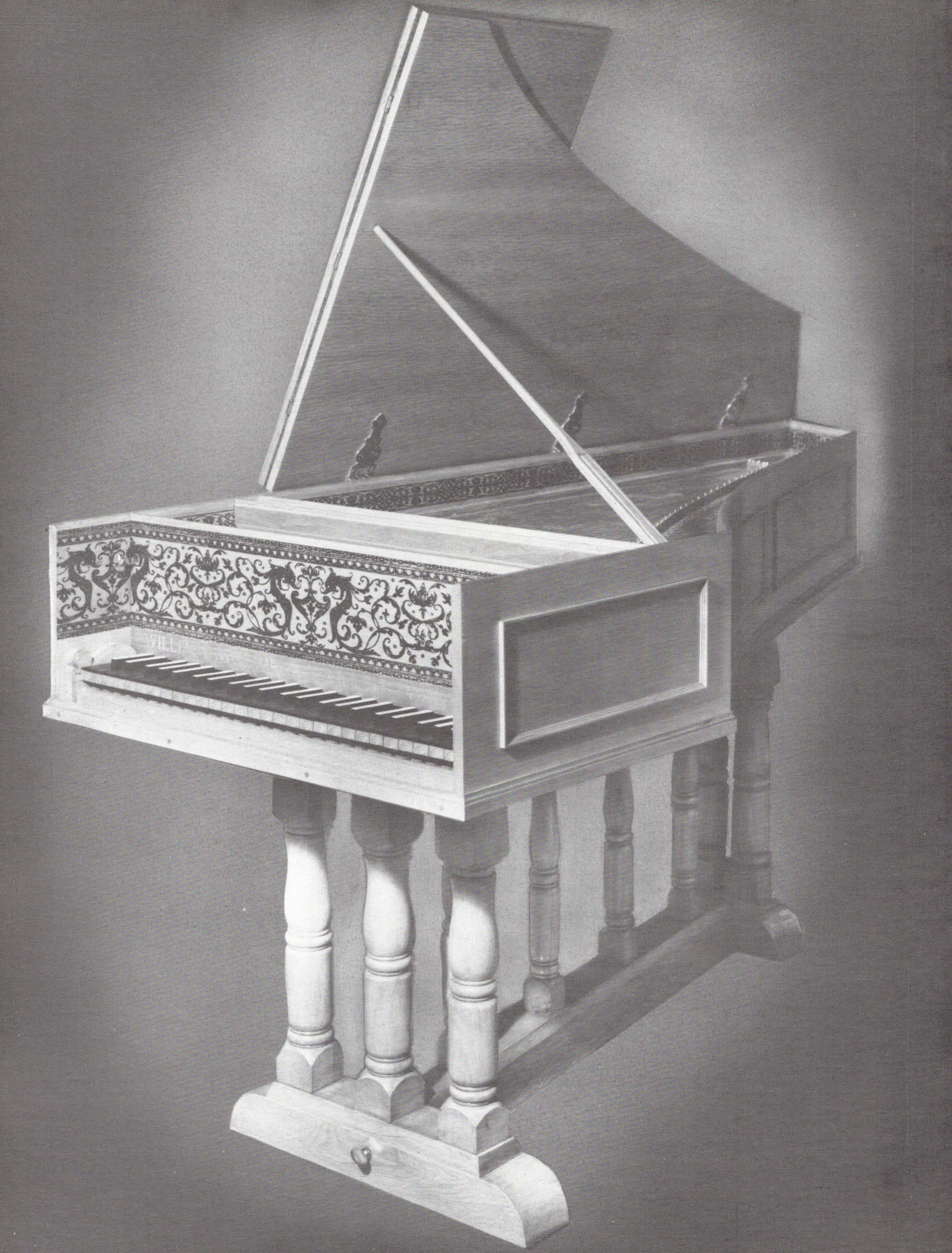

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GRAHAM WELLS

November 1977 must certainly have been the most memorable month in the history of auction sales of musical properties. Within the space of ten days there were two musical instrument sales at the Hotel Druot, a sale at Phillips' in the morning and at Sotheby's in the afternoon of the same day, a music manuscript sale at Sotheby's, and lastly a joint sale of instruments, manuscripts and associated musical properties at Christie's. All in all over a thousand lots changed hands—quite a strain, one would think, on what is after all only a small area of the art market. Yet right up to the fall of the hammer on the final lot there was not the slightest sign of flagging prices. Indeed the total of the Sotheby's musical instruments sale proved to be a record, just short of half a million pounds, a sum considerably helped by a new world record for a musical instrument at auction.

One lot in the Phillips' sale which attracted attention by virtue of its quality as well as size was a double bass by Thomas Kennedy dated London 1841 (£3,400). The purchaser, a bassist with the Concertgebouw Orchestra, succeeded in returning to Amsterdam immediately after the sale in time to play the instrument at that evening's concert. However, most people present at the sale only had time for a brief lunch before spending the next three and a half hours at Sotheby's.

Great interest in this sale was aroused by the Joseph Guarneri del Jesu violin dated Cremona 1734 and known as 'The Gillott' after the Birmingham pen manufacturer of whose collection it had once formed a part. It had been put up for auction once before, in 1852, when it realized £275: on this occasion the price was £126,500. While just about everyone has heard of Stradivari, it is amazing how very few are equally familiar with the name of the Guarneri family. Somehow it is satisfying that a violin by the greatest maker in this family should hold the world auction record—for the moment! There was, incidentally, a violin by Stradivari in the sale which realized £50,600.

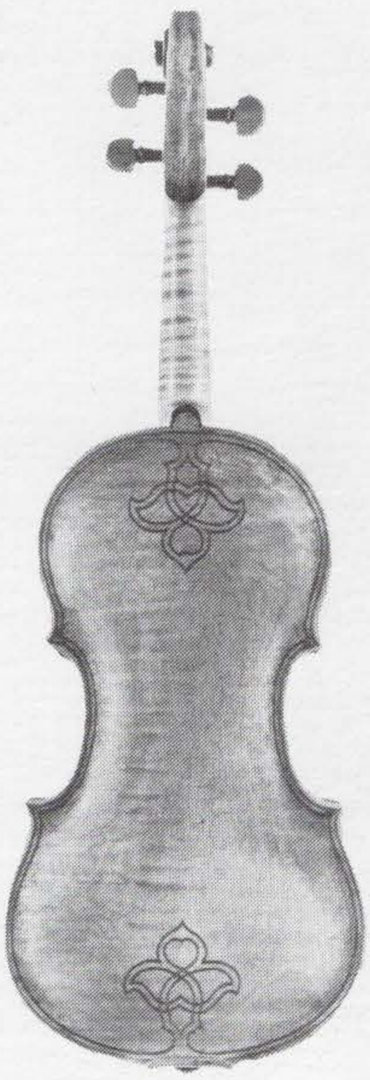
As instruments from the 16th century so rarely appear on the market, it is certainly worth noting the Maggini violin of *c*1595 (£14,850). It was particularly gratifying to see an original example by this comparatively rare maker who was so widely copied in the 19th century by commercial violin manufacturers.

One instrument in this sale was by chance illustrated in the last issue of *Early Music* (6/1, January 1978, p. 43)—a bass viola da gamba which had formerly belonged to Rudolf Dolmetsch (£7,700). The instrument had a neck and head by Arnold Dolmetsch and was strung with seven strings. It was catalogued as English but other authorities suggest several possible alternatives, though one thing is quite certain—that it was not by Carlo Bergonzi as suggested by the label.

Outside the bowed string categories there was nothing outstanding in the sale. There were a few oddities such as the Mellosax, an extraordinary variety of soprano saxophone with a rubber zipper down the side instead of keys and fingerholes (£143); and, rather more

The Gillott, a Violin by Joseph Guarneri del Jesu, Cremona 1734

A Bass Viola da Gamba, circa 1700 formerly the property of Rudolf Dolmetsch



A Violin by Giovanni Paulo Maggini, Brescia circa 1595

conventional, a six-keyed ivory flute by Richard Potter—stained green!

Square piano prices showed further strengthening with an Adam Beyer of 1773 making £1,705, a Christopher Ganer of 1784 at £15,400, and a Zumpe at £1,815. The date given in the catalogue for the third instrument was 1770 but this might be read just as well as 1776—a more propitious date for the American market.

Christie's sale, as mentioned above, was of general musical properties, and indeed violins took a back seat on this occasion. Of particular note was a series of drawings by John Nixon of musical subjects. The highest price was for one of the King's Theatre Band of 1806 (£616). There was a caricature sketch of the gamba player, C. F. Abel, dated 1787, somewhat later than the Gainsborough sketch of this celebrated player which appeared on the back cover of the last *Early Music* issue. There was also a caricature of Abraham Kirckman, the harpsichord maker, of *c* 1785. Although Nixon did not record which of the Kirckmans he was depicting here, it is unlikely to be other than Abraham, nephew of Jacob who founded the famous firm. It is, however, the only recorded picture of a member of the Kirckman family.

The sale was not in fact devoid of instruments: indeed they made up half of the lots. Amongst the keyboard instruments was a rare spinet made by Joseph Tisserant and Benjamin Slade, *c* 1700, the only instrument on which these two makers are known to have collaborated. Although unsold at £3,450 at the time of the sale, it later found a private buyer at an undisclosed figure.

The major items in Sotheby's music sale on 23 November were a little too late in date to fall within the scope of this magazine, but there were at least two lots which indicate the value acquired by almost any piece of paper from the hand of a great composer: one being an autograph album leaf in Latin by J. S. Bach (£10,450), the other a panel addressed to his father by W. A. Mozart (£2,860).

GRAHAM WELLS

A Square Piano by Johannes Zumpe and Gabriel Buntebart, London 1770(?)

A Square Piano by Adam Beyer, London 1773

A Square Piano by Christopher Ganer, London 1784

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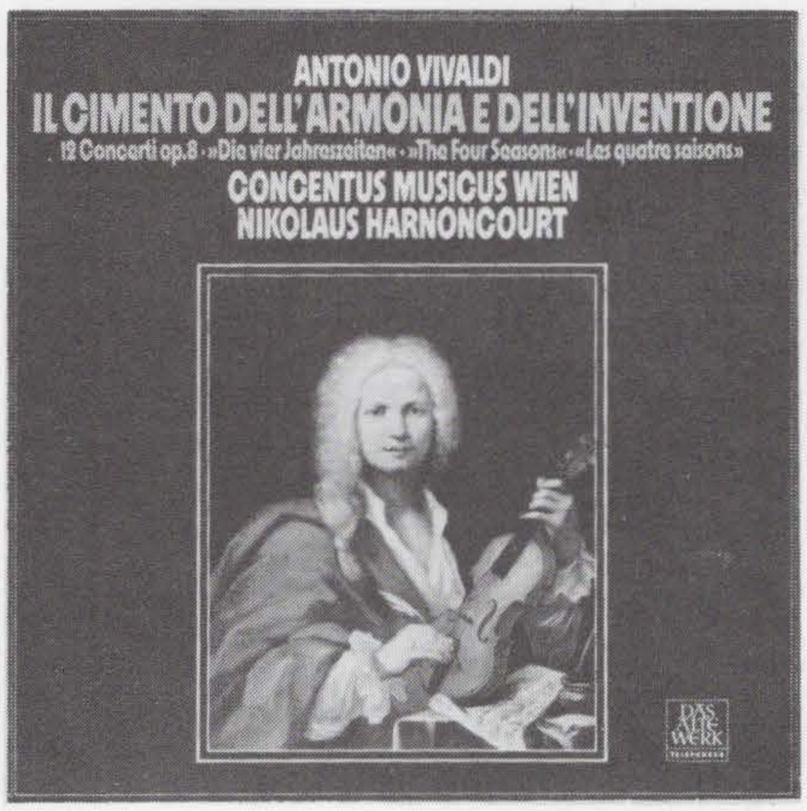
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Tributes to Kenneth Skeaping 1897-1977

I first met Kenneth Skeaping in 1954, but there hardly seems a time when I did not know him—so pervasive and complementary were our mutual interests in the violin and in the ramifications of its many beauties and mysteries.

Kenneth's long practical experience as a professional violinist and gambist, trained first in the conventional violin technique of the day and later influenced by the pioneer work of Arnold Dolmetsch (in old instruments and their technique)—all this added a needed (and most valuable) dimension to my own studies in the evolution of the violin and bow and in the history of violin playing. In my own work, until then, I had relied heavily on a thorough study of the treatises, by extensive work in iconography and on limited experiments that I, as an amateur string player, had conducted myself, with a reconstructed violin and my 'old' bow made by Dolmetsch.

By way of contrast, K.S. had a professional's technical equipment, and, in addition, he either owned, or had access to, a number of authentic bows and instruments on which we could make much more reliable experiments. In short, K. and I were mutually productive co-workers, and, on occasion, he played the violin to illustrate one of my public lectures. Although his name never appeared as co-author of any article or book of mine (since he found the actual laying-out and writing of a formal article basically uncongenial), I acknowledge gratefully the contributions he made to my own work and writings through the blend of unusual musical intuition and knowledge, tinged with scepticism, that distinguished his thinking.

Although I have naturally spoken first of K.S. as a musician and scholar, no tribute to him would be complete without a comment on the man, especially as regards his deep capacity for friendship and his joy in family life—a fact I noted at once at our first meeting which involved a joyful gathering not only of the two of us but of our two families.

Finally, underneath Kenneth's dignified exterior, there lurked a spirit of fun, sometimes resembling an imp of the perverse, that liked nothing better than to puncture the false or pompous with a sharp, verbal barb.

K.S. was my friend and colleague, a man to whom I owe much. I grieve his passing as I grieve for Peggy, his wife,

whose continuous support was so central to his existence. Kenneth was a rare one; and we shall rarely see his like again.

DAVID BOYDEN

Kenneth Skeaping's death was an irreparable loss to the world of early music. Long before the practice of authentic performance was generally understood or established in this country, he championed the viol consort music (and indeed the viols themselves) and led countless people to an appreciation of their treasures.

But his musical spectrum was a wide one, and his knowledge of other periods—in particular of Viennese chamber music—was equally detailed and profound. He had a rare gift for imparting wisdom and arousing enthusiasm, whether amongst highly polished professional players or among the fumbliest of amateurs.

He was not that dreary phenomenon the 'patient' teacher. He had that brisk spark of divine *im*patience that fired the imagination of his students, and, to quote a remark originally made about Holst, 'drew out of them what they knew wasn't there'.

We have many reasons to be grateful for his life, not the least of which is that he has bequeathed four splendid sons to the musical profession.

RUTH DYSON

In his personality and knowledge Kenneth Skeaping had the authority that required no teaching in the usual sense. To hear him play a few quiet chords was enough—one got the message. Also his quietly authoritative manner of speaking did far more for one than the pedagogic style affected by some teachers. His playing and style were a revelation. It is such a pity that he kept his prowess almost a secret; to hear him at his best one almost had to hear him playing when he was unaware of anyone listening. I am sure the musical world has not yet realized the full extent of the loss to authentic string playing when Kenneth passed away.

ALAN LOVEDAY

I have many happy memories of playing with Kenneth, both in trio sonatas and in viol consorts.

He was for a number of years on the Committee of the Viola da Gamba Society, to which he brought his enthusiasm and his determination to achieve authentic performances. He took an energetic part in all the Society's activities, including the biennial competition for modern consorts. To this he submitted (anonymously) a most striking and dramatic fantasy, which merits a further hearing.

His vigorous and generous musical approach will be long remembered by us all.

NATHALIE DOLMETSCH

Kenneth was a wonderful teacher, interested in encouraging his pupils, rather

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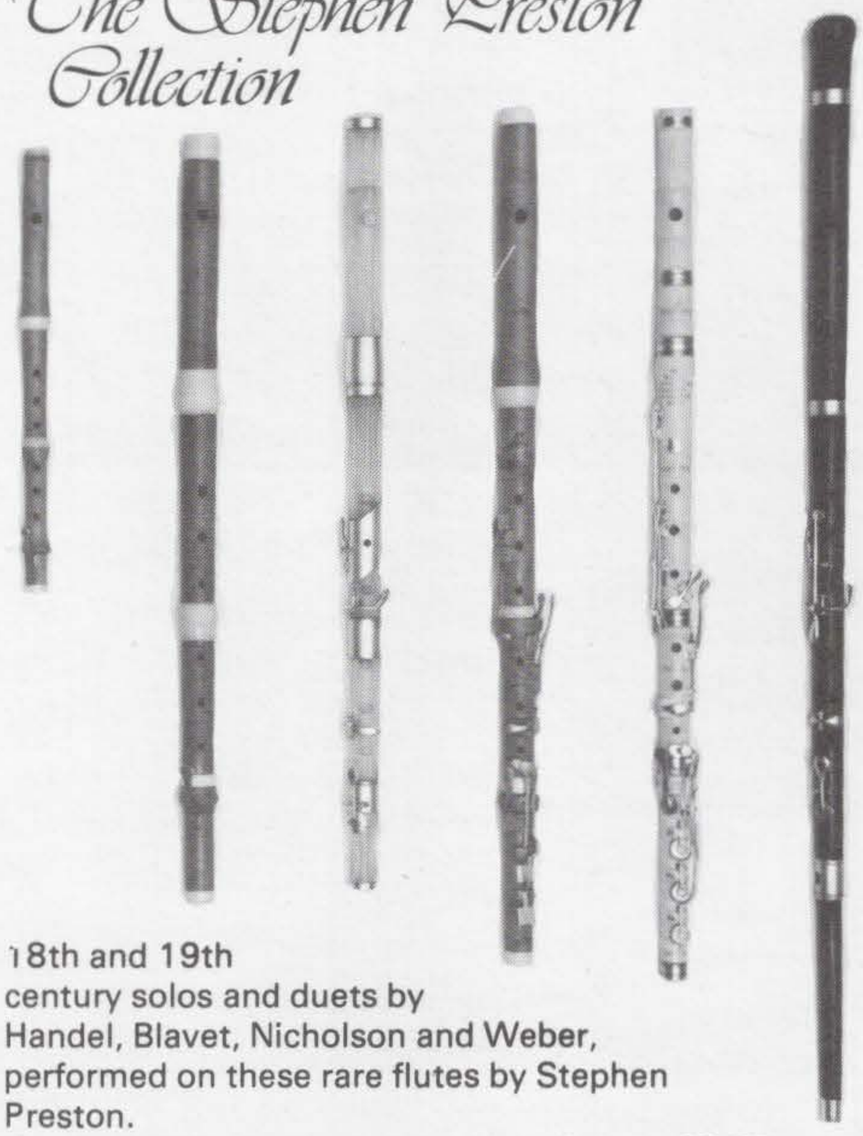

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than displaying his own considerable ability. He showed his versatility in one unforgettable concert at Durham when, after a forthright account of the tenor viol part in two Byrd fantasies, he picked up his violin and played a Jenkins suite, delighting his audience with ravishing sounds: this gives the picture of Kenneth Skeaping.

JANE RYAN

On Kenneth's eightieth birthday I wrote to him, claiming to be his 'earliest surviving pupil'. I used to have lessons from him when I, at the age of 7, was the R.C.M.'s youngest pupil whilst he, at the age of 27, was possibly its youngest professor.

The fact that I never turned into a violinist was certainly not his fault! I have happy recollections of looking forward weekly to those friendly and stimulating lessons. GEORGE MALCOLM

Kenneth Skeaping was an inspiring man. Everyone who came into musical contact with him found a new doorway opened for him or her. He had the gift of teaching by example, and to play trio sonatas or viol consorts with him was challenging, rewarding and great fun. Commenting on a performance, he once wrote to me; 'In playing the consort music both for viols and violins, one should not be afraid to tackle the heroic and dramatic elements which are as important as the elegiac and lyrical ones, stripping off the kid gloves of reverence to handle the stuff with the bare skin of enthusiasm'.

Invaluable advice indeed from a very special musician! Directly and indirectly, today's generation of early music string players have much to thank Kenneth for. CATHERINE MACKINTOSH

To remember Kenneth Skeaping is to recall, for us both, those wonderful days in the early fifties when we were discovering the glories of the viol consort repertory. At that time Kenneth gave one a lasting standard of viol technique to follow. One of his many wise sayings was 'the only way to improve a consort is by improving your own playing'. How many tenor viol players there must be now who remember his classes with heartfelt gratitude. His early violin playing too was an equal inspiration—after all he had been a Beecham violinist and knew the other side as well. He possessed that rare quality, intellectual integrity, all the more to be cherished in these days of instant-flash for all, on the box and elsewhere. CHRISTINE AND LAYTON RING

Kenneth was not only an instrumentalist but a complete musician. From his seat in the viol consort, he radiated confidence, and people played twice as well with him as they could in other company. Judging by results, and by his high reputation as a quartet coach, this must also have happened in his late-Beethoven sessions. For me, the ultimate musical experience was to play Mozart sonatas with him. He could inspire and carry a pianist along; the privilege of such duo-partnership does not often come an amateur's way, and I am thoroughly grateful for it. Kenneth leaves an exceptionally talented family, whose members are very much in our thoughts. GORDON DODD

I most remember Kenneth for his extraordinary patience and kindness when we were working on the Galpin Society's Pelican book in 1959. This was just four years after his classic article in *GSJ* VIII, in view of which I begged him to deal with the violin in our book. His modesty made him decline, yet he gave up hours of time in correcting my poor efforts at compressing Professor Boyden's magnificent contribution to appropriate size, while confining himself to a chapter, which is another gem of acute historical perception, on the viola. When I now open the book I still think most of all of Kenneth and those long friendly sessions at 'Findings'.

ANTHONY BAINES

We are indebted to Marco Pallis for assembling for Early Music *these expressions of appreciation from friends and colleagues of Kenneth Skeaping, whose death was announced in our January issue.*

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Books

The Bate Collection of Historical Wind Instruments: Catalogue of the Instruments

ANTHONY BAINES

Faculty of Music, University of Oxford, 1976, £2.50 (incl. post) ($8 abroad, incl. post)

Die Musikinstrumente im Steiermärkischen Landeszeughaus in Graz

GERHARD STRADNER

Sonderdruck aus: Nr. 6 der Veröffentlichungen des Landeszeughauses Graz, 1976

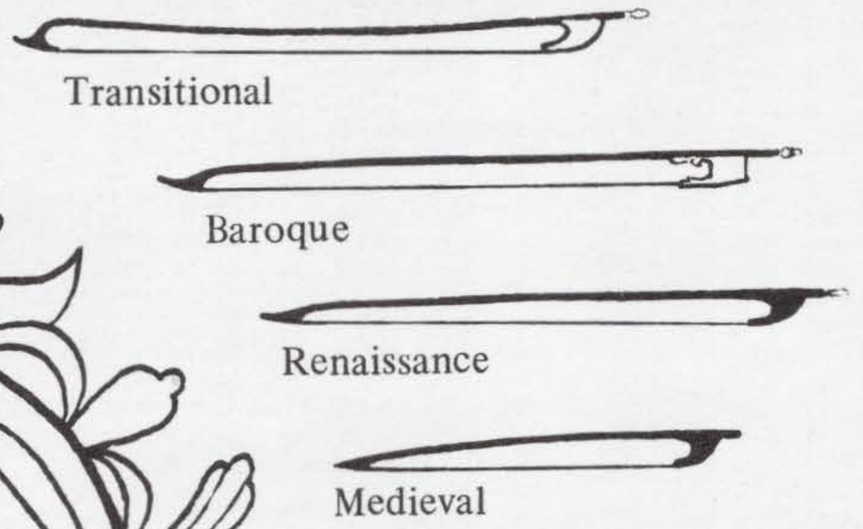
Today only the very wealthy can afford to assemble large collections of important musical instruments from the 18th and 19th centuries. In 'the good old days'—I suppose people have lamented their passing from time immemorial—a collector endowed with intelligence, perseverance, a sensitive eye and a bit of luck could gather together a representative sample of fine instruments illustrating almost every phase of their evolution during the past two and a half centuries. But even then few men were able to collect so distinguished a group of historical wind instruments as that made by Philip Bate, who was always extraordinarily kind and generous in allowing his instruments to be studied when he owned them, and whose interest in their history prompted him to give them to the University of Oxford in the late 1960s, so that they may be made accessible to a larger circle of students.

This relatively simple but comprehensive catalogue of the Bate Collection, prepared by its curator Anthony Baines, dean of present-day organologists, now makes it easier to know precisely what the collection contains, both for scholars and students in Britain and for those overseas. It includes as well gifts and purchases added since the 1960s, among them a substantial part of the instruments assembled by R. Morley Pegge, another early member of Canon Galpin's circle.

Since a catalogue can never include as much information as a maker will need to duplicate a particular instrument, and only seldom precisely the information a scholar will require to answer a particular question, Baines has quite sensibly kept each entry relatively short, giving only the collection number; maker's name and address along with the number or other inscriptions marked on the instrument itself; a short description; and general dimensions. An appendix, however, supplies more detailed bore measurements for selected flutes, oboes, bassoons and clarinets in the collection and these will surely be welcomed by makers and others. The index of makers, inventors, dealers and so on at the back of the catalogue includes approximate dates of the working periods for each man, information mostly drawn from Lyndesay G. Langwill's indispensable *Index of Musical Wind-Instrument Makers.* It might have been more convenient for the reader had Baines incorporated the makers' dates within each entry, although that would have meant duplicating the same information a number of times. And I would have liked to know the approximate dates of the anonymous instruments (even though Baines would have had to offer rough guesses about some of them, and some would certainly have needed to be revised after the instrument had been studied carefully). Aside from those minor quibbles, however, Baines's catalogue seems to me a wholly admirable addition to the growing number of similar works that help us all to know which artefacts of the past survive.

The difficulty of dating anonymous instruments increases for those which have enjoyed an unusually long period of continuous common use, such as side drums and fifes. Moreover, drums and fifes of different periods tend not to change their outward appearance very much, and their structure is in any case fairly simple. Such instruments are the bane of museum collections, for they tend to be neglected until long after it is possible to reconstruct their history. But some of the military instruments in the Styrian Arsenal (Steiermärkisches Landeszeughaus) in Graz, Austria, have been there since the 16th century and it is possible to document their history from the archival records of the institution where they have been kept since they were new.

The collection, listed and described by Gerhard Stradner in a pamphlet issued by the arsenal (now a museum), includes fifes and fife cases, drums, drumsticks and two 19th- or 20th-century drum stands. Trumpets and kettledrums are conspicuously absent; they belonged either to the musicians who played them or to their aristocratic employers. In any case they were evidently never a part of the 'standard issue' kept in the arsenal. The most valuable items in the collection are two fifes (M1 and M2) almost certainly dating from the second third of the 16th century (they originally formed part of a set of four, a fact we know because the original case for them has places for two more); several drums dating from the 16th or 17th centuries; and what Stradner claims is the only surviving 16th-century drumstick. We can assume, I think, that these instruments are standard 16th-century types, since they were preserved for practical



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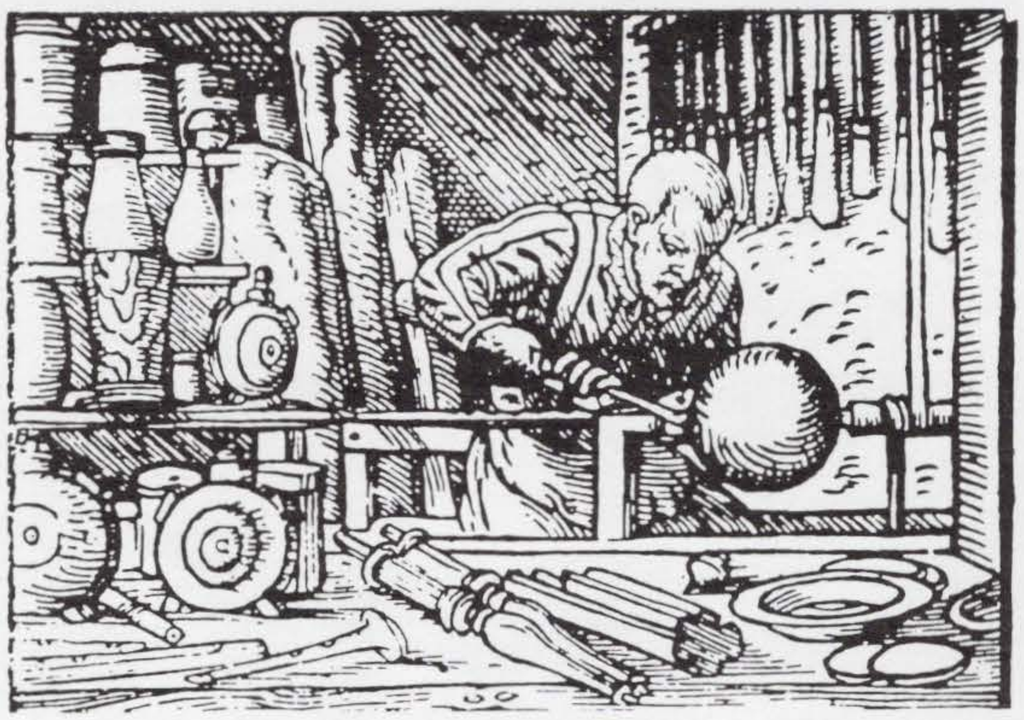

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reasons and not by a collector who wished to assemble extraordinary or exotic objects. And therefore they will offer us great help in dating drums and fifes found in other collections. Like Baines, Stradner has kept each catalogue entry short and simple. And he has included photographs of representative items in the collection.

HOWARD MAYER BROWN

Making Early Percussion Instruments

JEREMY MONTAGU

Oxford University Press, 1976, £2.95

This book is a practical instruction manual for the 'reasonably competent amateur handyman', and a companion volume to *Early Percussion Instruments* by James Blades and Jeremy Montagu.

Mr Montagu's instructions are clear and detailed. There is enough in Chapter 2 (The Heads) for example to carry one through the tricky processes of lapping, stringing and roping up with no other help than the text and its workmanlike figures. When specialized pieces of equipment are required Montagu explains how they may be improvised from readily available materials. Indeed, this book reveals amazing ingenuity, and the prospective drum-maker must be prepared to hunt around for such things as plumbers' bobs, carriage bolts and a variety of materials from specialized suppliers such as yacht chandlers and 'good rope shops'.

Mr Montagu's approach to drum-making is generally well suited to the needs of a handyman. His aim is 'greater authenticity in percussion', but he does not hesitate to advocate the use of non-authentic materials, methods and accessories when he believes these have practical advantages but do not affect the sound. For the benefit of the amateur unable to build his own shells he discusses the adaptation of modern drums, and lamination (which would surely affect the sound by altering the vibrating characteristics of the shell?). He advocates the use of tension cords on instruments originally built without them; this is to help the player who cannot 'warm up' during a concert. For these he recommends, with characteristic resourcefulness and lack of snobbishness, pre-stretch terylene, which seems to us a very wise choice if one is going to proceed in this way.

Inevitably there are some points which makers may want to question. Why must the heads of medieval drums be thicker than those used for modern drums of a similar size? Might the medieval ear not have relished the 'rattle' of a thin head struck with a heavy beater? Occasionally we miss an explanation of a technical point. Why is there an air-hole in the shell of a side-drum?

More importantly Mr Montagu sometimes leads the maker astray by losing his focus of period, discussing folk instruments when a good early source would have made a far better model. Makers wishing to produce an early string drum would be better served by a translation of Gerson's 15th-century description of the instrument coupled with a good illustration rather than a photograph of the modern *Tambourin de Béarn*. The medieval instrument had fewer strings and was not played with a pipe (as far as we are aware). A further chronological blur is introduced by the inclusion of tong cymbals. If Mr Montagu is really concerned with instruments relevant to 'our music of the Middle Ages and Renaissance' (which is surely all that will interest most buyers of this book) then he is wasting space on these, for there is no evidence for their use after the Carolingian period.

Finally it must be said that the book is under-illustrated, a fault in an instruction manual of this kind. Almost all the photographic work has gone into *Early Percussion Instruments* where it is largely wasted on material that has been reproduced at least three times already. In this book there are five muddy plates, one of which is squandered on the tong cymbals.

Should this book run to a second edition, a few well chosen early pictures and descriptions at the centre of the discussion will make this a valuable manual for all interested in early percussion instruments.

LEWIS JONES, CHRISTOPHER PAGE

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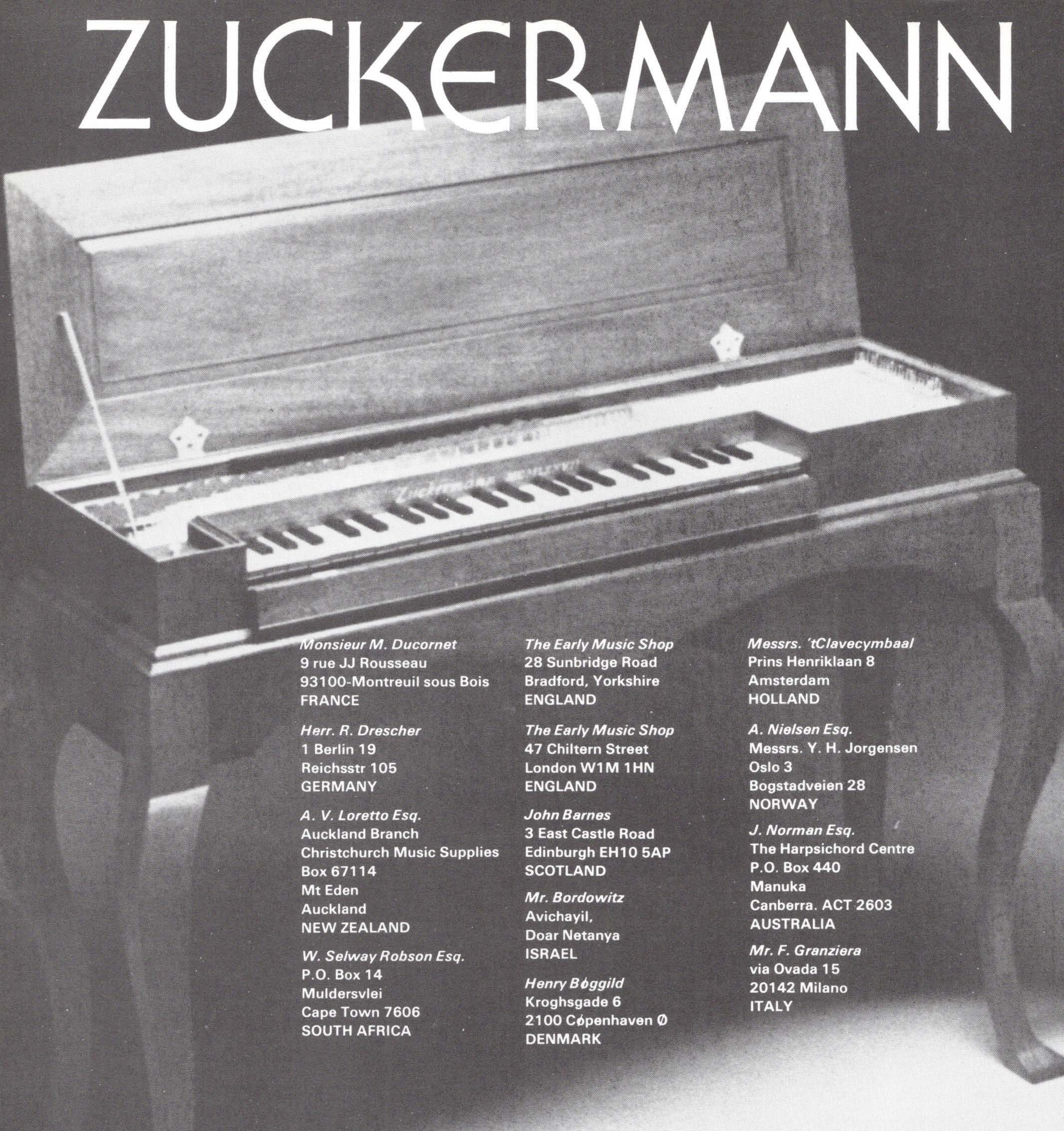

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On Choral Music: Selected Essays and Reviews
Bach and Handel
PAUL HENRY LANG
Special issues of *American Choral Review*, edited by Alfred Mann—respectively vol. 17 No. 2 (April, 1975) and vol. 17 No. 4 (October, 1975)
Paul Henry Lang was a daily concert critic for the (now defunct) *New York Herald Tribune* from 1954 to 1963. He also happens to have been one of the founding fathers of musicological teaching and scholarship in America.

Lang is now an elder statesman (he was 75 in 1976), and it is right that American musicians should pay him tributes; but this one is almost wholly misjudged. Lang's journalistic work is far from being his best writing; the extracts here are myopically chosen to suit the readership of the journal; and with no dates or annotation the booklets can hardly serve as documents of the musical life and taste of their time. These extracts concern the music that *Herald Trib* readers probably knew and cared least about, so Lang appears to be labouring points that now seem obvious—especially to readers of *EM*. And the selection and arrangement make Lang seem strident and hectoring and repetitious, which he never was in the context of years of daily reviews.

Lang's audience needed telling that 'to the general public—and to most practicing musicians—[Tudor church music] seems today a quaint relic of that past frequently referred to as the "primitive" era of music'; at the Oxford congress of the ISM in 1955, 'Erudition was present in abundance, but, contrary to popular misconception, most of these people are excellent musicians and fervent music lovers' (I like the judicious 'most of').

But there are a few choice currants in these big buns of such uneven consistency. It is, for instance, pleasant to recollect the Bach performances of Thomas Dunn, which to my generation in New York were the equivalent of Nadia Boulanger's Monteverdi recordings of the 1930s. 'The texture, usually covered by layers of fuzz shed by a large choir, became quite transparent ... There is assumed to be an "issue" about the size of the forces to be employed [etc] ... Well, there is no such issue; the facts ... speak for themselves. Nor does respect for the composer's intentions make one a "purist".' And Erich Leinsdorf, conducting the St Matthew Passion, was 'not a choral conductor who wrings his hands and gives occult cues; his baton rose and fell with the same precision he employed a couple of days ago in the pit of the Metropolitan Opera, for there is only one kind of conducting: precise, imaginative, and professional'. Which is, I fancy, always worth saying.

Lang is at his best on the 'paper music' of Gesualdo: 'He set to music not poems but mostly words: "death", "pain", "sorrow", "languor", etc; therefore Tasso as well as the worst doggerel were equally acceptable to him so long as they contained words on which he could vent his passion.' In 'forms that have no contours', Gesualdo's 'iridescent music, often beautiful and moving, is more often bizarre and almost senseless, and when in that mood, it goes far beyond the confines of the madrigal; it can no longer be sung'.
ERIC VAN TASSEL

La vie des musiciens de Paris au temps de Mazarin
CATHERINE MASSIP
A. & J. Picard, Paris, 1976, £7.60
The series edited by Norbert Dufourcq —'La Vie Musicale sous les Rois Bourbons'—of which this is the 24th volume, includes, like the complementary annual *Recherches* (14 vols 1960-74), mainly historical studies based on archives and other contemporary documents. Such detailed investigation of 17th- and 18th-century musicians' social and economic circumstances by Duforcq, Benoit, de Brossard, etc, as well as parallel studies by Devries, Jurgens, Le Moël and Lesure are among the most significant contributions to current French musicology. The present sociological essay, by another excellent product of the École Nationale des Chartes,

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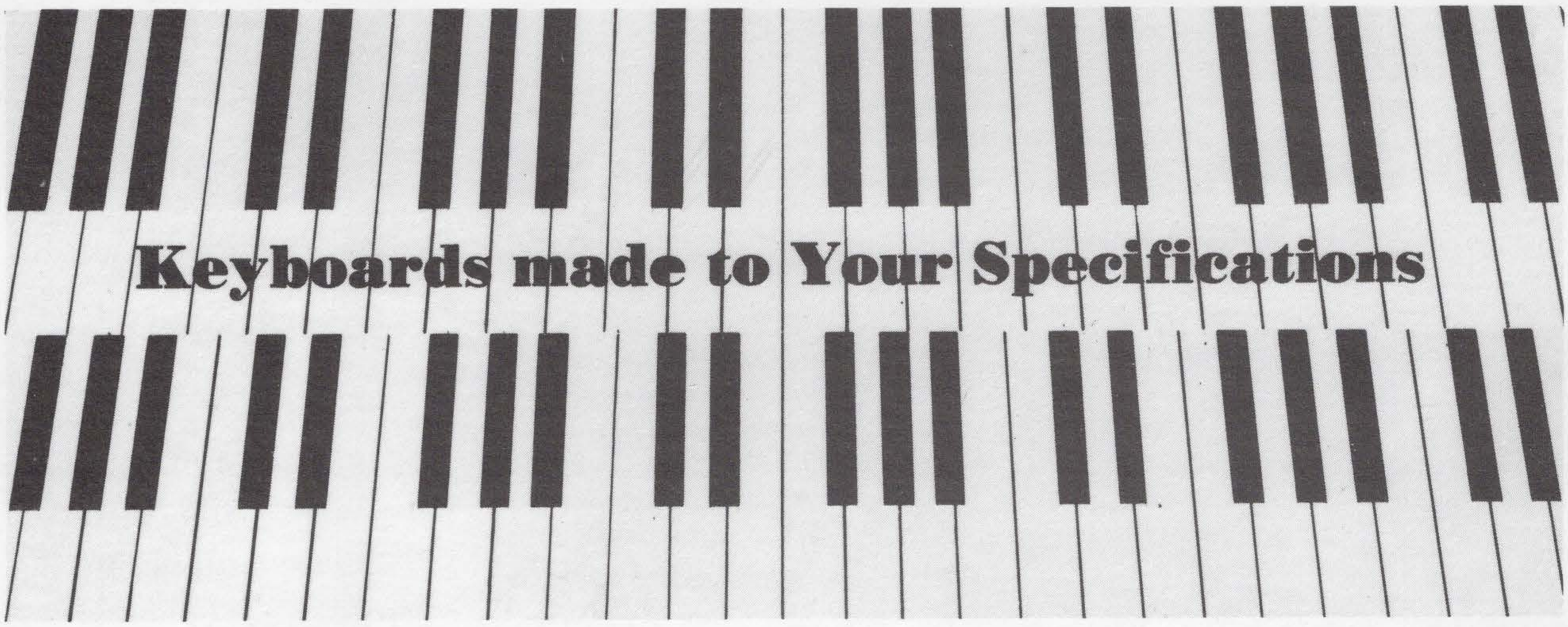

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benefits from the recent research and enlarges it with many new discoveries that considerably enrich our knowledge of Parisian musical life in the mid-17th century.

Although her Introduction presents a perspicacious survey of French musical activity and evolution in the 17th century, the author's principal aim is more limited—namely to elucidate the living and working conditions of musicians at Paris during the minority of Louis XIV, or, more specifically, from the death of Louis XIII in 1643 to the death of Mazarin in 1661.

The first chapter deals with the 130 or so musicians in the service of the King, Queen and princes of royal blood, giving details of their functions, salaries, fees and sales of office. Thus we learn that in 1662 d'Anglebert paid Chambonnières £2,000 for the post of spinet-player in the royal Chamber which paid only £600 per annum (£ = Livre Tournois). The Chamber's lute, flute and viol players received similar amounts as did the singers and the composer François Richard. The composers of the *Chapelle* (Eustache Picot and Jean Veillot) also received £600 p.a. but served only for a half-year as did the *Surintendants* Jean-Baptiste Boesset and Paul Auget who received £450 p.a. At the other end of the scale the trumpets, sackbuts and 'Hautbois de Poitou' of the *Écurie* received only £180 p.a. and the fifes, drums and bagpipes only £120 p.a. The payments of the royal household are far from complete and fail to record the remuneration of the female singers Anna Bergeroti and Anne de la Barre, the musicians-in-ordinary Hilaire Dupuy and Claude Dupuy, the lute and theorbo player Germain Pinel, and the viol players Jean Boyer and Louis Couperin or even the young Lully who from 1653 held a position as *compositeur de la musique instrumentale* and who was later to dominate and change the whole organization.

Chapter II deals with the collegiate and parish churches (describing the conditions, pay and discipline of the choirmasters and organists) as well as with the numbers, recruitment and education of the choristers. Music was an indispensable auxiliary to religious practices and courtly splendour: weddings, serenades, fairs and civic as well as trade guild festivities were accompanied by bands of violin or wind players. After serving a long apprenticeship these players were admitted into the guild of instrumentalists which had enjoyed royal protection since 1407.

Chapter III gives details of their associations and of the statutes which governed their professional activities: these statutes were revised in 1658 after Guillaume Dumanoir had succeeded Louis Constantin as the *Roi des violons*, but the guild's authority over the dancing masters was called into question by the establishment of the *Académie de danse* in 1661: the rupture was the inevitable result of dancing's technical evolution through the Ballet de Cour; no longer could the fiddler who provided the music necessarily instruct the latest steps and choreography, although Dumanoir insisted in *Le mariage de la musique avec la dance* (1664) that many were fully qualified to do so. Not every *baladin* could handle his kit as Lully could, but, except for those who managed to procure a permanent position in the Vingt-quatre Violons or the Petits Violons, the instrumentalists were on the whole less prosperous than the dancing specialists in the age of the *Bourgeois gentilhomme*.

The second part of the book—entitled 'La Condition Sociale'—draws on individual marriage contracts and wills to indicate the social milieu and wealth of the court and town musicians. The former show life styles and attitudes typical of the *petite bourgeoisie* with a keen sense of assets, particularly land and property, but little desire for luxuries. While Chambonnières and J.-B. Boesset maintained coaches—a true sign of affluence—few possessed keyboard instruments or extensive libraries in their homes, although guitars, lutes or theorboes were common enough. There also seems to have been a social distinction between the Chamber musicians who were designated 'noble homme', the Violons 'honorable homme' and the guild members who styled themselves merely 'joueur d'instruments'

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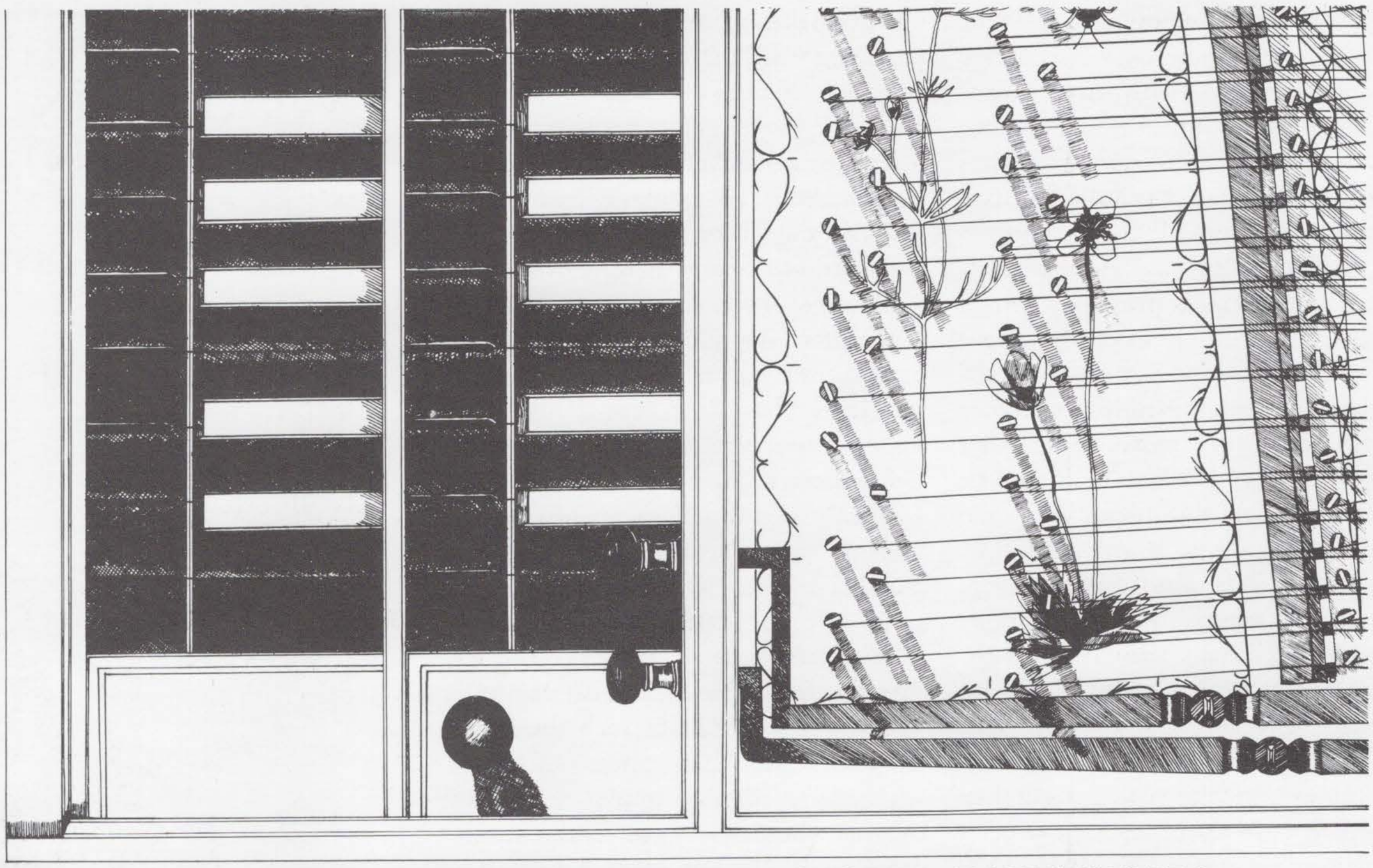

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RECORDER & MUSIC

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was founded as a quarterly in May 1963, and incorporated *The Recorder News* (the official journal of the Society of Recorder Players).

Its pages cover the instrument itself, its makers, its players and its music, with reviews of books, music, records and concerts. There are accounts of Summer Schools and courses, and sections devoted to the recorder in school and to the S.R.P. besides articles of more general interest.

Recent issues have included interviews with the young recorder virtuosi, Michala Petri and Amico Dolci, and articles by Walter Bergmann, David Lasocki and Arthur Marshall. The editor is Edgar Hunt, Head of the Department of Renaissance and Baroque Music at Trinity College of Music, and he is assisted by Freda Dinn, Herbert Hersom (School Section) and Dr Sam Taylor (S.R.P. pages).

It is published in March, June, September and December by Schott & Co., Ltd., 48 Great Marlborough Street, London W1V 2BN, and the annual subscription is £2.00. Subscribers in U.S.A. should order through Magnamusic Distributors Inc., Sharon, Connecticut 06069. Single copies 50p (plus postage 9p).

specified or not. We know less about the humblest and poorest musicians, like those who lived near the Foire of St Germain, eking out a meagre existence and living from day to day, since they made little use of notaries, although they were occasionally mentioned in suits against debtors. Those of provincial origin, often only semi-literate, rarely acceded to elevated posts in the royal household which normally required a long family tradition. Environment and nepotism clearly assisted dynasties like the Fouquot, La Barre, La Guerre, Racquet and Richard families.

Ms Massip has also examined the inventories of many instrument makers and reveals some interesting facts. For example the evaluation of the estates of certain *luthiers* shows that they often dealt in a wide range of accessories and instruments including not only kits (*pochettes*) valued at as little as 10 *sous*, violins averaging between £1 and £5, viols, lutes, theorboes and guitars which, if decorated with ebony and ivory, might cost as much as £30. Imported Italian instruments (especially lutes from Bologna and Padua) were especially prized while we find references to 'lutes à la mode d'Angleterre' and oddities like the *tromba marina*. Keyboard instruments were very expensive, ranging from spinets at £30 to clavecins at £200—the comparative value being clear when compared with the salaries and estate valuations cited earlier and in further tables at the end of the book. Further tables and entire documents are appended to amplify information dispersed throughout the preceding narrative and, as a reminder that this information relates only to professionals, there is a short section with new material on the amateur gentleman-lutenist Blanrocher, lamented by Froberger, L. Couperin, D. Gaultier and Du Fault.

The book thus contains a significant amount of new information clearly and objectively presented with an ample index, bibliography and footnotes. Although it attempts no systematic correlation, selection or synthesis it will no doubt greatly enrich future understanding of French baroque music.

FRANK DOBBINS

Chanson Verse of the Early Renaissance, II
Edited by BRIAN JEFFERY
Tecla editions, London, 1976 (*distributed by Bron's Music*), £8

Those students and performers of the chansons composed during the reign of Francis I (1515-47) who have hitherto relied on microfilms from Chantilly, Paris, Stuttgart and Wolfenbüttel will be grateful to Brian Jeffery for providing a reliable edition in handy format of 331 poems contained in six anonymous collections printed between 1527 and 1543 which provide many textual concordances for the settings published by Attaingnant, Moderne and their contemporaries. These 'poèmes de transition' represent various genres—popular, courtly and occasional. Their multitude of forms—archaic examples related to the *formes fixes*, chansons with refrains, strophic pieces and *épigrammes* typical of Clément Marot and his colleagues—still await serious study and classification.

Most of the pieces are anonymous and unpretentious, but the editor has identified some by Marot, Chappuys, and Francis I: the list could have been extended by ascriptions found in contemporary manuscripts (e.g. *O doulce amour*, No. 191, and *Ce qui souloit* are attributed to the King in at least two reliable sources). The editor's claim to have consulted 'all other known sources of the poems' should have been qualified by the adjectives 'contemporary' and 'printed'. The statement (p. 79) that Nourry's collection was the only one of its kind known to have been printed at Lyon also requires qualification since many similar anthologies appeared there from the 1550s on (see F. Dobbins, 'A Bibliography of Music and Poetry at Lyon', *RMA Research Chronicle*, xii, 82-84)—some of them including pieces found in Dr Jeffery's edition. To round off an otherwise complete chronological series there might have been a note on a collection published in 1542 (*S'ensuyt plusieurs chansons nouvelles*,

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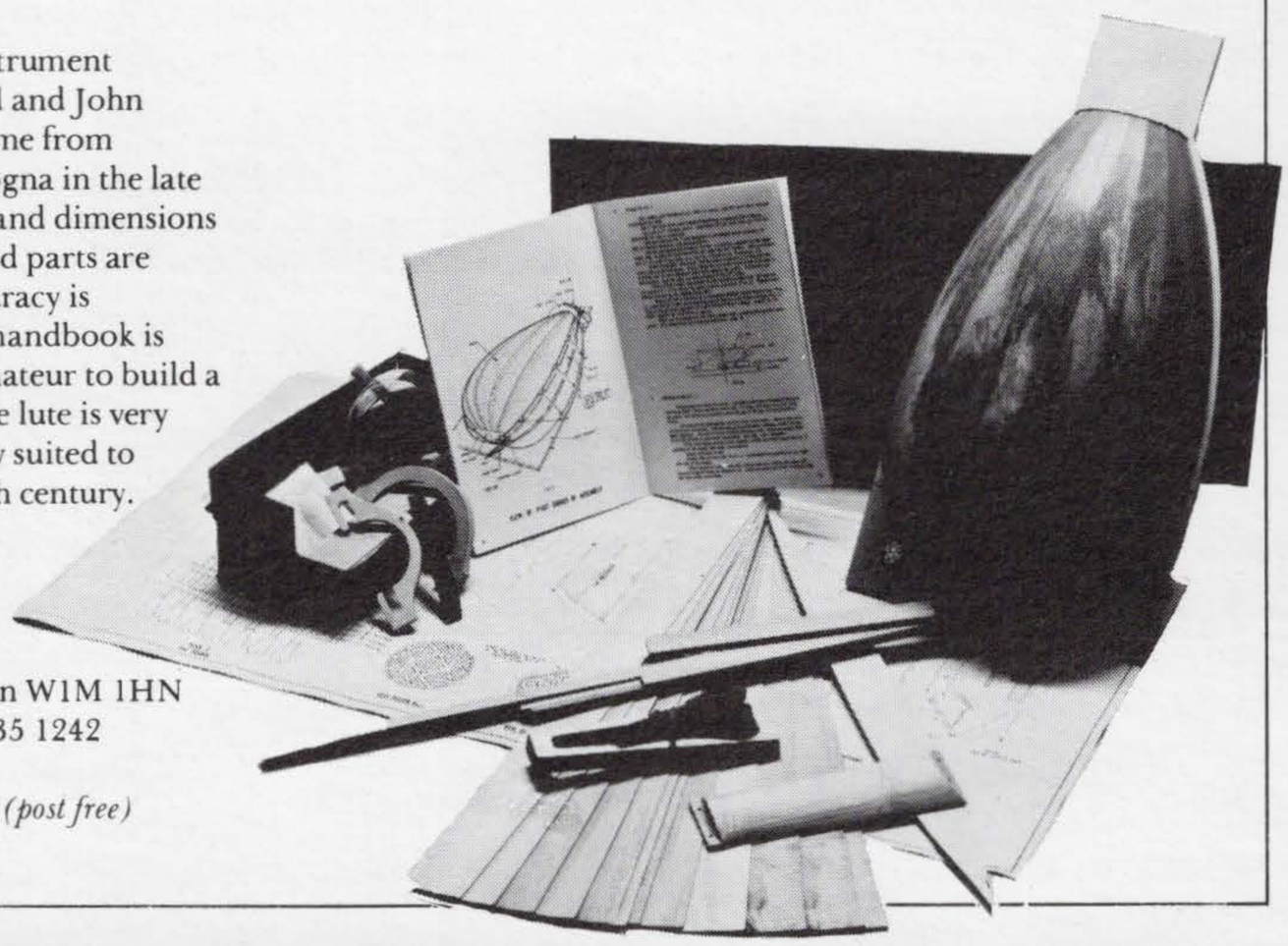

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ed. A. Percheron, Geneva, 1867) which informs us that *Gens de la Tharentaise* (Jeffery, p. 311) was sung—like *Hedin fut assaillie* (Jeffery, p. 321) to the timbre *Marseille la jolye*, and provides a complete text for *Adieu m'amye* (Jeffery, p. 351).

A detailed collation with the musical sources, while considerably inflating the book, would have illustrated the varying relationship with the literary sources which do not always provide identical or additional text: *Le jaulne et bleu*, p. 211, omits a line from the anonymous version printed by Attaingnant in 1529. However, most of the musical settings are cited by reference to the catalogues of Daschner and Heartz, missing a few which have modified first lines: e.g. *Au bois de dueil* (p. 59) appears as *Au joly bois* in settings by Sermisy (à4), Certon (à2 and à5) and Penet (à3) while *Le triste cueur* (p. 208) appears as *Mon triste cueur* in a setting by Jacotin (RISM 1540[10]).

Notwithstanding a lack of reference to the original foliation Dr Jeffery's editorial method is excellent, with the most important variants noted (with cross-references to the earlier collections printed in his first volume) and an excellent glossary to aid comprehension. Much historical information and critical commentary is also provided and the accuracy of transcription remarkably high.

The cumulative index at the end provides a full key to the new volume and to volume I (1971, £4.50; the set of two volumes costs £11). There is indeed valuable material for literary historians, musicologists, ethnomusicologists and performers alike.

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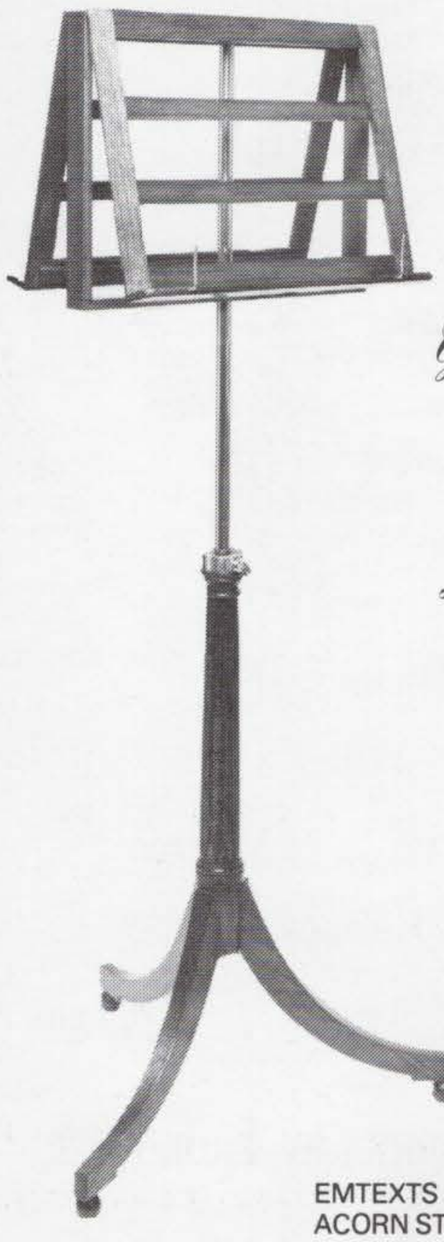

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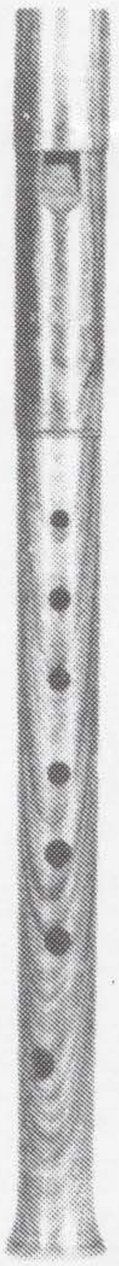

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Music

Cantiones sacrae (1575)
WILLIAM BYRD
Edited by Craig Monson
Stainer & Bell, 1977 (*The Byrd Edition*, 1), £18.50

Following the appearance of volumes 15 to 17 (*EM*, October 1977, p. 569) we now have volume 1 of *The Byrd Edition* with a newly edited version of Byrd's share in one of the most celebrated music publications of 16th-century England. Happily the new edition follows closely after Boethius Press's welcome reprint of the original part-books, from which it is clear that Vautrollier's printing of 17 motets each by Tallis and Byrd was one of the most sumptuous of the age. Musically the contents of the *Cantiones sacrae* are most rewarding, Tallis's for their serene beauty and eloquence, Byrd's for their audacious experimentation with a wide range of modes of expression. Some of the younger composer's pieces are rather wooden (*Laudate pueri* an adaptation of an instrumental fantasia, itself deriving from rather foursquare Continental models), and there are some clumsy moments (the opening of *Aspice Domine*), but at the other extreme there are bold innovatory essays in large-scale musical structure (the tripartite *Tribue Domine*) and in expressive word setting. Indeed one of the motets in the latter category, *Emendemus in melius*, is a small masterpiece.

There have been two previous editions of the 1575 Byrd *Cantiones*: in *Tudor Church Music*, vol. 9, and in Fellowes's edition of the *Collected Vocal Works*, vol. 1. In some respects the need for a new edition is less urgent than it is with other categories of Byrd's work. After all, the task of preparing an edition from a single printed source, seen through the press by the composer, and without the complication of divergent contemporary manuscript sources (a point to be returned to below) is a fairly simple one as editorial tasks go. But in every way this edition is an improvement on previous ones, and in one aspect, text underlay, it is indispensable. The editor presents a 'clean' text, devoid of Fellowes's constricting expression and phrase marks. The old underlaid translations are also removed, and instead literal translations follow each piece together with a note on the source of the words.

Original note values are rightly and successfully retained. As Dr Monson points out, it is vital to preserve the 16th-century relationship between different types of composition; and a notational gamut that already takes in note values as small as the demi-semi-quaver (in keyboard music) stands in no need of revision today. There is, of course, no comparison with the rather impractical *Tudor Church Music* which also employs original note values, since the present edition discards the heresy of irregular barring, and in any case uses a much more legible typeface.

The old policy of transposition is kept, but it is done methodically, according to clef combinations in the source, rather than by guesswork as was the case with Fellowes, and the user can be reasonably certain that the printed pitch corresponds roughly with the actual pitch that would normally have been used. This is presumably an advantage to groups of singers who find it inconvenient to transpose, though I have often wondered to what extent users of volumes like this find they need to transpose the music yet again to suit their own particular requirements. The disadvantage to the student of the music (which I take to include the more perceptive performer) is that it obscures the distinctive ways in which Byrd tended to handle different modes, and the transposed versions of those modes. Something similar may be said of the reactions of later composers to individual keys; it makes no sense at all to visualize Beethoven's 'Eroica' Symphony in D major just because it originally sounded a semitone lower than it does today.

In the matter of text underlay, already referred to, Dr Monson has faced up to a difficult problem ignored in previous editions, and has recognized in the source evidence of a real distinction between the idiosyncratic traditional English practice embodied in the older motets, and the more modern convention of 'just note and accent', found in certain of Byrd's more recent motets. Thus the underlay of the original print is adhered to quite closely, but not slavishly—that would be ducking the issue—and all editorial emendations are duly footnoted (though the cryptic system adopted takes a little practice to decipher quickly).

A valuable feature of the new edition is the provision of full supporting prefatory material. Facsimiles showing all the preliminary and concluding non-musical material in the source are followed by English translations as appropriate. The Preface and Editorial Notes prepare the reader well for the content and background of the *Cantiones*, documenting and evaluating the considerable amount of critical and bibliographical published work on the collection which has appeared in recent years (to the list of extant copies of the *Cantiones* may be added an incomplete set, which somehow escaped RISM, in the Euing Collection at Glasgow University Library). One loose end worries me: although Dr Monson refers to contemporary manuscript sources he does not explicitly state their relationship with the print. If they all derive from the print (as they may well do) then all is well, but any variants not so accounted for could be important and would need to be noted in the edition.

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Edited by John Steele

Les editions renaissantes, New York, 3 fascicles of edition, 1975; boxed facsimile, 1974, £3.00

Contemporary opinions of Marenzio's music are scarce. The best known is probably Peacham's account of a 'little and blacke man' who 'for delicious Aire and sweet Invention in Madrigals . . . excelleth all other whosoever'—engaging enough but not informative as criticism. More useful are the little-known remarks of the Ferrarese aristocrat and academician Alessandro Guarini, published in his *Il Farnetico savio, overo il Tasso* (1610). Writing a decade after Marenzio's death, Guarini described him as 'that musician who gives pleasure with his sweetness and lightness, determined above all not to offend the ear, but seducing it with exquisite sweetness', in contrast to Luzzaschi who 'does not fear harshness, does not fear bitterness, and does not even loathe dissonance contrary to a well-wrought style'. It may have been personal animosity towards Luzzaschi which encouraged Guarini to make this comparison but, on the other hand, his view, which effectively ignores the adventurousness and experimentalism of the late works, is typical of contemporary reaction which, to judge by reprints and manuscript copies, generally preferred the earlier compositions. This was certainly true of taste outside Italy, and Peacham's comments, if they are to mean anything at all, seem to emphasize Marenzio's melodic gifts and ingenious command of rhetorical devices, the traditional rather than experimental aspects of his madrigal writing.

Attempts by 20th-century scholarship to provide a more accurate image of Marenzio's versatility have been severely hindered by the lack of modern editions. Einstein, who more than any other writer has fostered a more balanced and detailed account of Marenzio's stylistic range, envisaged a complete edition but was able to publish only the first six books of five-voice madrigals. These use the old convention of retaining original clefs and do not seem to have found much favour with performers as a result.[1] The sacred compositions, often more modest in language than the madrigals, have fared little better;[2] the influential villanellas and canzonette are hardly available at all in respectable editions.

Within the last few years, three separate enterprises have announced the publication of a complete edition. The first of these to appear, published by the American Institute of Musicology, has begun with two volumes of sacred music and has announced a further one for the future. A second, edited by Steven Ledbetter and Patricia Myers, is to be published by Broude Brothers of New York. The present fascicles are the first products of a third projected complete edition and contain, quite logically in view of the continued availability of Einstein's edition, the seventh book of five-voice madrigals.

In many ways the seventh book continues the spirit and technical achievements of the sixth five-voice book of 1591, a publication which certainly contains one or two conventional pieces but which also marks the beginnings of a new relationship between words and music in Marenzio's oeuvre. Much of the change has to do with G. B. Guarini's controversial pastoral drama *Il pastor fido*. Composed probably between 1580 and 1585, it was not published until 1590, but composers had begun to set verses from unauthorized versions before publication. During the 1590s, it established itself as one of the most potent forces, not only as a literary model and as the object of criticism and debate, but also as a fund of madrigal texts. From the pastoral Marenzio chose four texts for the sixth book, the most pathetic of which, such as Mirtillo's *Udite lagrimosi* (P.F. III.6) or Dorinda's lament *Anima cruda si* (IV.9), give rise to a new audacity in the handling of dissonance and in the juxtaposition of unexpected harmonies.

The disturbed classicism of the sixth book provides both the background and the key to the seventh. Here nine of the book's seventeen pieces are taken from Guarini's tragicomedy, and all invariably betray a continuing interest in the new harmonic and melodic approaches of the pathetic manner. In the cases of *Ah dolente partita* (III.3) and *Cruda Amarilli* (I.2) there are strong bonds linking Marenzio's settings to those of Wert (probably composed earlier) and Monteverdi. Nevertheless, Marenzio's version of the new style is one which is still able to compromise satisfactorily with the traditional madrigalian depictions of pathos—the fauxbourdon-like passages, and the contrasting 'major' and 'minor' chords with roots a third apart. Certainly there is a boldness and unconventionality about these pieces which a more attentive Artusi might have complained about (and indeed, works from the ninth book were quoted in Monteverdi's defence on that occasion), but there is not the unrelieved dependence upon a narrow range of techniques that marks Gesualdo's late works. Despite occasional exaggerations, Marenzio's new enthusiasm for the startling and unusual is still contained within the traditional rhetoric so that the sudden surprises are thrown into even greater relief. A characteristic moment, one of the most delightful in the whole book, comes towards the close of *Ma grideran per me* (overleaf).

First the good points. John Steele has provided a good text, and a reasonable sampling has revealed only a few unimportant typographical errors. The sensible page size and fascicle format make the volumes easy to perform from, a consideration which often seems to be overlooked in the design of complete editions. Other aspects of the production are less satisfactory. The most serious is that the music is too small to read comfortably: this may have been caused by the decision to print a 'reduction for instrumental improvisation' in keyboard score under each system. This is only one way in which space is wasted, and most of the others seem to stem from pretension. The modest preface is printed in English, German, and Italian in all three fascicles, as is the illustration from the 1602 Ciotti edition of *Il pastor fido* and the table of contents.

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There are sixteen totally blank pages and a number of others that are decorative rather than useful. It is difficult to know whether the volumes are just badly planned, or if this is another example of indifference to the pockets of private students and performers, a common feature of the 'complete works' mentality. Certainly it is a shocking fact that only 86 out of the 140 pages in this edition contain music, particularly when the critical apparatus has yet to appear. This, discussed as an integral part of the edition in the preface but apparently unavailable, has not prevented the clumsy addition of editorial changes to the stave in a number of places.

Readers of *EM* will welcome the facsimile edition. Performing from original notation is increasing in popularity, and the advantages have been persuasively argued in the pages of this journal (ii/1, January 1974), but in general publishers have yet to respond to the growing need for serviceable facsimiles of 16th-century printed sources, and the Italian repertory is particularly badly served. The faintness and occasional indistinctness of this Marenzio facsimile suggests that the books have been produced from a microfilm rather than specially prepared photographs, but it is difficult to be certain without knowing which copies were used, information that might also have increased the facsimile's appeal to analytical bibiographers.

IAIN FENLON

[1] A. Einstein (ed.): *Luca Marenzio: Sämtliche Werke* (=*Publikationen älterer Musik*, iv/1 (Leipzig, 1929-31), reprint Olms (Hildersheim, 1967). D. Arnold (ed.): *Luca Marenzio: Ten Madrigals* (London, 1966); unfortunately now out of print.

[2] K. Proske (ed.): *Musica divina*, i/2-3 and ii/2 (Regensburg, 1854-59) (13 motets); F. X. Haberl (ed.): *Repertorium musicae sacrae*, ii (Regensburg, 1903) (26); K. Proske (ed.): *Selectus novus missarum*, ii/2 (Regensburg, 1861) (1).

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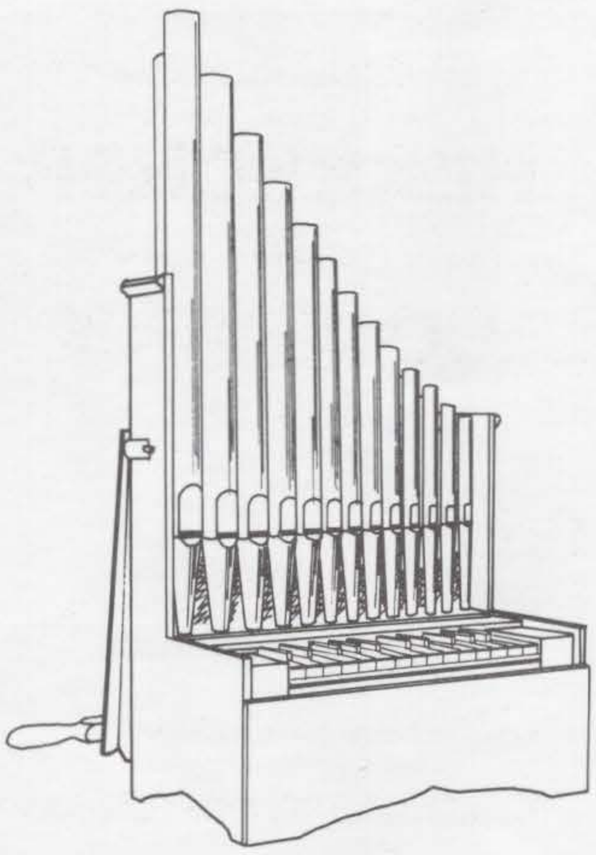

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century lutenist was admired more for his inventiveness than for his strict adherence to the notes on the page.

The appearance in 1975 of the Extempore String Ensemble, devoted to the performance of the popular Elizabethan repertory 'without book' and with *ad hoc* improvised ornamentation, was therefore an important event much to be welcomed. George Weigand, co-founder and leading plucked-instrument exponent of the group, must by now have thousands of semiquavers under his belt, if that is the right expression. The news that he was preparing a book on lute improvisation was most exciting, for clearly he had a great deal to communicate, which should be of incalculable value to the players mentioned above. There was certainly a need for a book explaining the various renaissance principles of embellishment and extemporization as applied to the lute, covering such matters as divisions on grounds and on melodies, cadential figuration and the use of ornaments on particular notes. This was what I was expecting, sifted and presented in the light of Mr Weigand's practical experience.

In fact the book contains no suggestions at all on *how* to improvise, despite its seven pages of introductory material, and the stated aim to 'provide a foundation upon which a student or player wishing to improvise his own divisions can build'. Yet nothing is provided by way of precept or explanation. 'Although instructions and rules can be of help in learning to play divisions,' writes Mr Weigand, 'the most important thing in learning to improvise is listening.' And later, 'when you have mastered the original pieces and divisions and the additional divisions I have composed, you should have some ideas of your own.' This is all very well, but surely we need some principles on which to base those ideas.

Instead, the introductory pages are principally directed at beginners. They cover such things as the number of strings needed; the use of a guitar with third string retuned if no lute is available; the desirability of a partner (or tape recorder) to play the ground while the student plays the divisions; useful hints on practising. Next comes an elementary introduction to lute tablature (in which the note values are given half their proper staff-notation equivalents). This is followed by a page on how to hold the lute, right-hand position and whether or not to use fingernails. Right-hand technique is taken a little further under the heading 'playing the divisions'. (Not all of this agrees with 16th-century practice, incidentally.) The music itself is discussed only in the last few paragraphs, briefly mentioning various types of piece on which divisions may be played: grounds based on chord sequences, dance or ballad tunes, 'composed' dance music and instrumental solos.

There are only four pieces of music in the book, all but one of which are English, from the Sampson lute book (of which there is a Boethius Press facsimile). These are 'The Spanish Pavan', 'Rogero' and 'Heaven and Earth'. Each is given as it appears in the manuscript, with some 'new divisions' added by Mr Weigand. The fourth piece is his setting of the popular Italian ground 'La Gamba'. The extra divisions are not always free of ugly consecutives and leaps, which are the very things the renaissance treatises set out to eliminate. Admittedly, these examples were 'improvised on tape and then written down', and such *faux pas* do occasionally slip by in performance, but surely they should not pass without comment when printed in an instruction book.

The music is printed in a reproduction of a modern tablature hand, presumably Mr Weigand's. Transcriptions into staff notation, also handwritten, are provided as 'Appendix I' by Rosemary Thorndycraft. Both are amply clear and legible, if not particularly beautiful.

It seems to me that this publication falls right between two stools. There is not enough information for the beginner, who needs a more thorough basic tutor, and there is nothing here for the advanced player who wants to make a study of improvisation techniques.

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The flowering of the arts in Spain's glorious golden age in the 16th century included some of the finest of early keyboard music, notably the works of Antonio de Cabezón (1500-66). The principal collection of his music, the *Obras de musica para tecla, arpa y vihuela* issued by his son, Hernando, in 1578, has never been republished in full but the appearance of this recent volume of intabulations, *glosados* as they were termed in the period, makes good the deficiency at long last. Both Pedrell's edition of 80 years ago and Anglés' more recent one curiously omitted no fewer than 44 of the works printed in the *Obras*, 38 by father Antonio, four by son Hernando and one or two by Antonio's brother Juan de Cabezón. (The new complete edition by Charles Jacobs is still in the course of publication and will presumably include all intabulations.) Except for a few printed in editions of selected works of Cabezón revised by the Portuguese scholar M. S. Kastner, these pieces remained unknown until his pupil, Maria Ester, edited the entire group of *glosados*. The ostensible reason for dismissing these pieces from the canon of Cabezón's works was that they were merely transcriptions of other composers' music and not entitled therefore to be considered authentically of his composition. This was a strange conclusion, especially since the intabulations include chansons and motets by some of the most eminent Renaissance masters, such as Josquin des Prez, Lassus, Gombert, Crecquillon and Willaert. But omitted they were and thus never received the attention they merit either from historians of music or keyboardists. It is a pleasure to report that the lacuna has been well filled. The edition seems accurate, graphically quite acceptable in quality and prefaced by informative introductions by both Sra. Ester and her mentor, Prof. Kastner. Alas, they are printed only in Spanish.

All three Cabezóns, Antonio, Juan and Hernando, were connected with the Spanish Chapel Royal in the time of Philip II. They travelled extensively through Europe, including England, and were fully conversant with the great 16th-century repertory of vocal music, both sacred and secular. A rich collection of intabulations of such music such as was printed in the *Obras* of 1578 served then, as it will serve now, to unlock these treasures for players of keyboard instruments. (In spite of the broad title taking in the harp and vihuela as well as keyboard instruments, for which *tecla* was a generic term in the fullest sense, the intabulations can scarcely have been intended for the former, technically unable to cope with much of the four- and five-part texture, often elaborately ornamented to boot.)

Such favourites among the chansons of the time as Sandrin's *Doulce memoire* and madrigals like *Ancor che co'l partire* by Cipriano de Rore were all given the transcription treatment, as well as three movements of Josquin's *L'homme armé* mass and his *Stabat mater*. One strange omission is Josquin's *Mille regrets* to which Philip II's father, Charles V, had such a passionate attachment. By no means all contemporary intabulations are of the consistently high quality of those by the Cabezóns. Hernando's works in this genre are remarkably free treatments of the vocal originals for the most part, paraphrases rather than literal transcriptions, to use Liszt's terminology. The collection can be heartily recommended, especially since it lends itself to performance on any reasonably suitable type of harpsichord, clavichord or organ.

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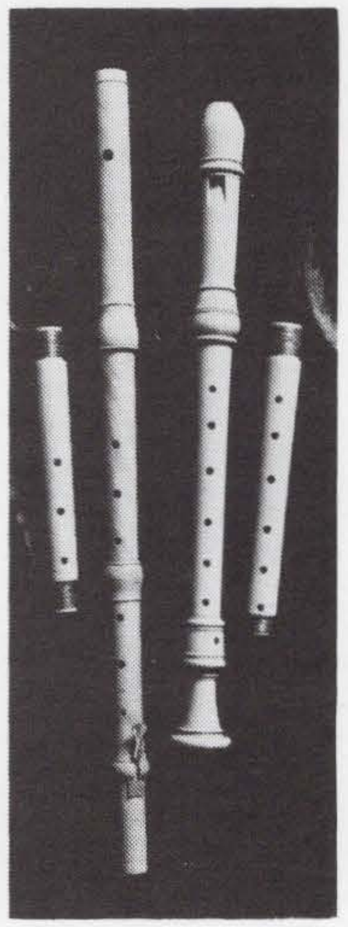

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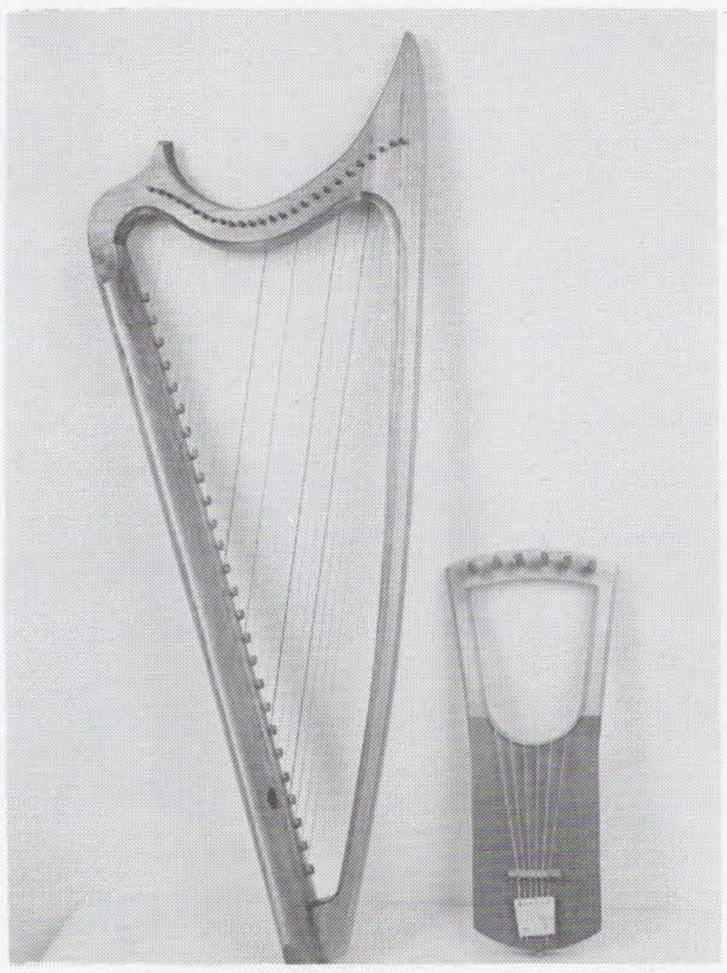

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edited many previous volumes of Iberian keyboard music of the 16th to 18th centuries. The new anthology of 16th-century pieces offers considerable variety within its narrow range. There is a single Cabezón intabulation drawn from the *Obras*, and a group of pieces taken from manuscripts in Uppsala and Coimbra. (The geographical spread shows how far the editor's researches have extended during the past 40 years that he has been delving into this subject.) These other Iberian pieces are ascribed to Cabezón *père*, Antonio Carreira, his greatest Portuguese contemporary, and Francisco de Soto. In addition to works by the ubiquitous Anon., there is also one sport in the group, Jean des Grez, a French musician who was court organist to Francis I, author of a fine ricercar which deserved to be printed somewhere, so why not here?

The music is printed with occasional editorial suggestions for free ornamentation, a vital factor in bringing the bare notes to life. A very ingenious summary of the Iberian tradition of decorating the stark musical lines as they appear on the page is printed as a table of ornamental formulae at the end of the volume. Unfamiliar terms like *quiebro* and *redoble* lose their terror for us when we see that essentially they are varieties of mordents, trills and turns, not very different from those familiar from slightly later keyboard music, especially the written out ornamentation found in the works of the English virginalists. Once having mastered the art of gracing, and provided that dirge-like tempi are avoided—the minim (half note) rather than the crotchet (quarter note) usually serves as the beat value—the player will find this music taking on previously unsuspected beauty and even audience appeal.

The volume of unpublished organ music of the Spanish baroque devotes more than half its pages to some unremarkable *tientos* and a single *canción* by Diego de Torrijos (1640-91) about whom nothing is known save that he was a monk at the Escorial who became its organist and musical director. The balance of this somewhat heterogeneous collection is devoted to eight *fabordones* (four-part settings of the psalm tones), sets of variations on the *Romanesca* and *La folia*, and a further *tiento*, either anonymous or by composers even more obscure than Torrijos. The anthology, though well edited, will be of interest primarily to specialists. Frankly, nearly all of the music in it begins auspiciously but comes to grief because the sheer length of the pieces outstrips both the intrinsic substance of the musical ideas and the skill of the provincial *Kleinmeister* concerned in working them out.

HOWARD SCHOTT

Correction

Gordon Dodd was unfortunately unable to see a proof of the music insert for his review in the last issue and sends the following corrections:

p. 115, col. 1, Ex. 2: (1) before 'read' insert 'Tr1'; (2) example should be read in alto clef; col. 2, line 3, should read 'Bell Pavan, b.20'.

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The new edition of Machault

Stanley Boorman's review (*EM* 5/4, October 1977, pp. 495-8) of my transcriptions of Machault's works published by Le Droict Chemin de Musique clearly requires comment because many of its criticisms are ambiguously formulated so as to allow possible misunderstandings.

I would like to point out that I am only the transcriber and not the publisher so I shall discuss first the format and then the substance of our subject.

Criticisms of the format

(1) Large handwriting: I agree that it can be difficult to read some rhythms but the publisher arranged it to avoid unnecessary page turns.

(2) Separate leaflet for the words: I also don't like this and was prepared to put words under the musical text to avoid ambiguity, but the publisher insisted on it to keep the price down.

(3) Criticism of the foreword: it is hard to conceive how one can form an opinion on a complete edition based on only two forewords (those of the Rondeaux and the Virelais). Five others, quite different, will appear with the other fascicles.

Moreover, Professor Boorman suggests that I do not discuss the problems of *plica, musica ficta* . . . these problems will be discussed in a special fascicle of over fifty pages: 'Commentaire pratique sur l'oeuvre de Machault' which is in preparation and will be sent to subscribers free.

This commentary will comprise I. Introduction, II. Rhythm: values, combinations, numbering of the tactus, how to determine the tactus, relation of notes, ligatures, *plicas*, III. Sound complex: modes, perfect and imperfect consonances, sharps and flats (x and b), *musica ficta*, IV. Forms, V. Instruments.

Criticisms of the substance

Professor Boorman says that my transcription is based on a single source, MS 22545-6. In fact I mention in the Foreword to the Rondeaux and Virelais that I used three other sources (MSS 1584, 1586 and 9221) when (i) MS 22545-6 presents an obvious mistake (pitch transposed a third lower or higher), (ii) the other three sources agree with each other but not with 22545-6 which seemed wrong to me, or (iii) when 22545-6 was incomplete. I am against a 'mean' version which does not exist. We are lucky that several different manuscripts do survive. The most important task is to choose which seems the most reliable—not to make a Machault sauce of the Machault sources.

I have indicated in footnotes when I depart from my main source to allow the reader to know why I have changed it, generally following MS A. Moreover, some variants found in the other two sources are interesting and are given in footnotes so that the reader can choose for himself.

So the difference from the other editions is clear if we compare mine with that of Ludwig, which has the virtue of being the earliest but which now bears the weight of years. Ludwig based his edition on the MS Vogüé only—an error, in my opinion, since this source dates from the 15th century. Then he adds accidentals above or before certain notes, according to other sources; the footnotes, in very elliptical German, do not allow the musicologist (not to say the musician) to know when Ludwig follows the Vogüé source or another one. Otherwise, the Schrade edition seems to be a copy of Ludwig's with very few alterations. But, that is not a reason to say that these two are correct. Professor Boorman says that no source is valid and that all three transcribers should have corrected mistakes. How very sure he seems that he can rewrite Machault according to his own principles! I cannot agree with him because some of his criticisms indicate to me that his mind is influenced too much by a classical idea of harmony and romantic principles of music. Unfortunately he is not the only one to encourage the notion that tonality must always prevail and that major seconds and tritones are forbidden. The only interval which was actually forbidden during the 14th century was the 'Mi contra Fa' i.e. the semitone.

For instance, in his first example he seems to be annoyed not by the fact that I have transcribed MS 22546 exactly but by an F played simultaneously with a G: many similar examples appear in Machault. Why should one automatically think that the version in MS A is the right one? Both versions exist and there is no reason to prefer the one which is less shocking to the ear.

In Professor Boorman's Ex. 4 we have exactly the same problem. Why add a rest, since MS 22546 doesn't have one?

The problem of *musica ficta* (about which Professor Boorman says that I have only offered a few words in my forewords) shows that, for him, tonal attraction and his conditioned ear are the only criteria. The rules described by Machault's contemporaries seem to be unknown to Professor Boorman. Furthermore, he suggests that, in his Ex. 5, the other transcribers have added a sharp: I might point out that Ludwig puts this sharp in with a question mark.

Apart from his lack of information, I reproach Professor Boorman for making other criticisms without giving any examples. Let him give me the wrong pitches and the wrong rhythms. He may consider the Ludwig version faultless with respect to rhythms—I may say that I don't always agree with Ludwig either.

If at the beginning of some pieces I have given several time signatures, it is not 'haphazardly' as Professor Boorman suggests, but to avoid cutting the flow of the melody to transcribe the rhythm as it appears in the source and

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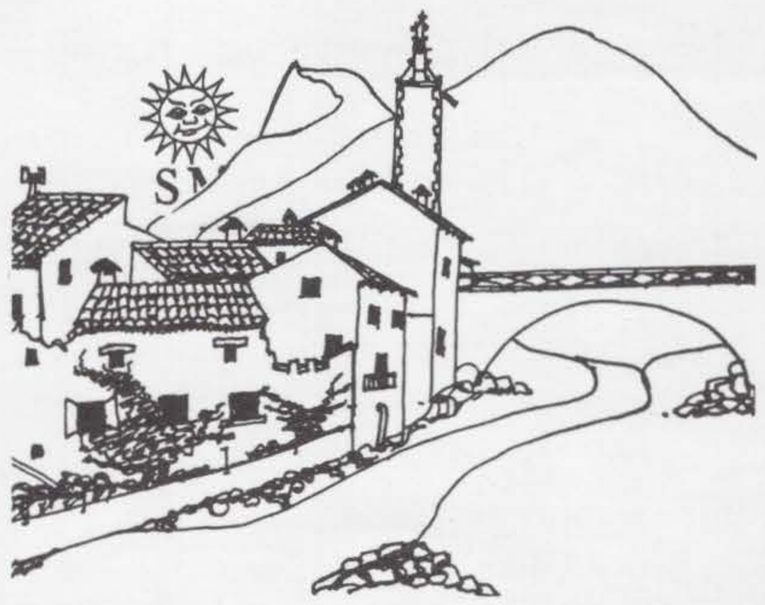

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not revise it in the classical manner to which most people are accustomed. It is well known that medieval music is predominantly polyrhythmic, in time as well as in number of parts. It is, in fact, impossible to fit the music of Machault into the rigid framework of 'modern' metre.

In my 'Commentaire Pratique', not yet published, Professor Boorman will find, in the chapters 'Relations between note values' and 'Combinations' the solutions to the supposed rhythmical errors. An Errata section rectifying actual publisher's errors in Vols I and II will also be included.

SYLVETTE LEGUY, *49 Avenue du Plessis, 92290 Chatenay-Malabry, France.*

A 12th-century street musician

Mary Remnant's article 'The Diversity of Medieval Fiddles' (*EM*, Jan 1975) includes a photograph of a fiddle player that is of particular interest as a representation of a 12th-century street musician. It was not to Miss Remnant's purpose to record these details, but the figure shown is on the left-hand face of a block (sculpted on two sides only), the front and largest face showing a shoemaker at work aided by an apprentice (see illusn). Above this charming scene, which doubtless represents a shopfront, are the heads and shoulders of four animated figures. The whole scene is probably intended to represent a street with people coming and going around the shoemaker's open-fronted shop. The fiddler, who plays seated and apparently sings to his own accompaniment, is presumably a street-musician busking for the passing crowds. Although musical scenes in French romanesque sculpture are often connected with the world of everyday music making, this block gives a particularly full and interesting context for the musician's activities.

I am most grateful to Professor Kenneth J. Conant, the authority on Cluny, for confirming these details. The block almost certainly comes from a Cluny shop (i.e. it is a shoemaker's sign), not from the Abbey, as suggested by Miss Remnant's caption, and probably dates from *c*1150. The capital is now in the Musée Ocnier, Cluny, where I examined it in August 1977.

CHRISTOPHER PAGE, *Jesus College, Oxford.*

Dance symbolism

The detail from *The Effects of Good Government* on the cover of the July 1977 issue of *Early Music* shows a number of dancers executing a winding dance whose symbolism was originally connected with fertility. On the front cover the dress of the left hand dancer is decorated with a chrysalis pattern. On the back cover the robe of the middle figure is decorated with dragonflies. I believe these to be symbols for the renewal of the human spirit after death. A similar symbolism is found on the Ring of Nestor from Pylos dated *c* 1550-1500 BC. It has been suggested that the representation of a winged insect emerging from the chrysalis developed eventually into an angelic figure. I would be grateful for comments about this and wonder if there is any symbolism in the lines of the dress of the central dancer on the front cover?

MADEAU STEWART, *Stream Farm Cottage, Nutbourne, nr Pulborough, W Sussex.*

Double-dotting and ultra-dotting

Professor Neumann (*EM*, July 1977) has confounded double-dotting and ultra-dotting (as in Dolmetsch's *Messiah* example). Double-dotting Handel's overtures goes back to Crotch (quoted in Watkins Shaw) and Battishill's *Il Pastor Fido* arrangement, printed in HG 48 p. 196 and referred to by Terence Best in the preface to MHA IV/17.

Neumann says that the double-dotting in the *Orlando* overture is fully written out. It is not: compare bar 1 with bars 5, 10 and 11.

The Overture to Handel's Suite No. 7 cited by Fuller also exists in an orchestral version as the overture to *Oreste* (HG 48). Comparison of the two versions is interesting.

In the Overture in Bach's *Goldberg Variations* it is noteworthy that Bach puts dots over the semiquavers in bars 8 and 9, just as if he were a Frenchman indicating that they are to be even.

Finally, Neumann's comments on the 'jerky' style are open to two objections: firstly, it is quite possible to make double-dotted or even ultra-dotted overtures sound majestic and secondly, is Neumann not setting up his own taste as arbiter and 'ceasing the claim of authenticity' (his words)?

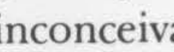
RALPH LEAVIS, *Lincoln College, Oxford.*

I should like to respond to Frederick Neumann's letter in the January issue by expressing my regret that it should have become necessary for him to take time better spent on the valuable work he has in progress in order to strike yet again at an old issue. I understand, nevertheless, that he could not have let my article go unanswered, just as I could not have allowed it to remain unwritten.

In answer to one point, I should say that I read his article in the Arthur Mendel *Festschrift* with great care but did not discuss it because my assignment was to answer the one in *Early Music*. As I remarked, neither that article nor the one in April 1977 *Musical Quarterly* would have altered my arguments.

Perhaps I may say here, however, that although there is much in Professor Neumann's writings which I am convinced is misleading and anti-musical, there is also an immense treasure of information and critical thought without which the history of performance would be a much poorer and more undisciplined field of research. I hope his work may continue for many years, and I hope that it will always be read with the critical attention which I have tried to bring to one article.

DAVID FULLER, *Department of Music, State University of New York at Buffalo, NY 14214, USA.*

May I add a footnote to the debate on overdotting? Neumann says that the Overture in *Rinaldo* should be performed as notated in the autograph (*EM* July 1977, p. 322); but he seems ignorant of the fact that the conducting score copied by Smith in about 1717 (R.M. 19 d 5) has the groups of quavers dotted throughout. It is inconceivable that Smith should have notated them thus if they were meant to be played evenly; and the harpsichord arrangement published by Walsh about 1730 has the same dotted notation. Handel himself was inconsistent about the matter in his autographs, and this proves Fuller's argument: in a short-score sketch for the Overture in *Rodelinda* (Fitzwilliam 30 H 6, p. 73) there is  in the bass of bar 7; in the full-score (R.M. 20 c 4) Handel writes the phrase .

The point is further discussed, with particular reference to the Overture in *Il Pastor Fido*, in the Preface to my edition of the fourth volume of Handel's keyboard works (HHA Series IV vol 17).

TERENCE BEST, *11 Invermay Court, Highland Avenue, Brentwood, Essex CM15 9DF.*

David Fuller's rebuttal (*EM*, Oct 1977) to Frederick Neumann's 'The dotted note and the so-called French style' (*EM*, July 1977) contained enough well-gauged arguments to elicit sighs of relief from those of us who were worried that Neumann's dialectics might set the cause of Baroque performance practice back a half-century or so. I do wish that the latter's attempts at devil's advocating were a bit more reasoned and less extreme, but I do think that Fuller has most effectively rescued the baby from the thrown-out bath water. One point: Fuller mentions Agricola's statement that J. S. Bach taught his pupils, in respect to combined dotted notes and triplets, to play the rhythms as written (ie, the note after the dot should be played not with but after the third triplet); Fuller ought to have added that Agricola acknowledges that assimilation of the rhythms does take place, however, in extremely fast tempos.

IGOR KIPNIS, *20 Drummer Lane, West Redding, Conn., U.S. 06896.*

Renaissance theatre

Your readers will, I am sure, be grateful for Lee T. Pearcy junior's outline of developments in stage design between what I believe to be those recorded in a free rendering in two works of art of the earliest years of the 16th century, and the Medici Intermezzi of 1589. He should, I think, have acknowledged Dr Frances Yates's splendid book, lately republished, on the *Valois Tapestries* and Caron's contribution to their design; the silvered rock on which the nymphs of France were mounted was so mechanized that it actually rotated.

I am myself primarily interested in signs, in works of art, of the emergence of stage settings in the modern sense, from the 'mansion' agglomerates of the late medieval period. The coloured drawing of the mansion-setting for the belated *Passion* at Valenciennes of 1547 bears out several documentary descriptions of similar arrangements. These often include a mount which could have accommodated Abraham's sacrifice of Isaac, Joachim's return to his sheep and, naturally, the Crucifixion. But it could also have served, and no doubt did, as a Parnassus on which Apollo could perch. The two pavilions or grottoes of the Medici Intermezzo seem to me to be the sophisticated descendants of a succession of gradually modified mansion-units, but I may, of course, be wrong.

STELLA MARY NEWTON, *3 Cumberland Gardens, Lloyd Square, London WC1X 9AF.*

The arts in Devon

I was pleased by the liberal coverage which the October issue of *Activities* gave to the John Loosemore Centre and the Dartington Arts Society under the heading 'Early Music in South Devon'. Your readers, however, may like to know that for several years the Fine Arts and Music Committee of Exeter University has engaged professional early music groups of the highest repute, who have played to sizeable audiences in the University Great Hall. Exeter University alone boasts two amateur early music groups—Musica Ficta, a small ensemble directed by Keith Dickson, and Exeter Early Music Group, a larger body directed by myself. Both of these groups have given numerous concerts throughout Devon. Enquiries about them should be addressed to the directors, c/o Exeter University.

NICK SANDON, *The Music Department, University of Exeter, Exeter, Devon.*

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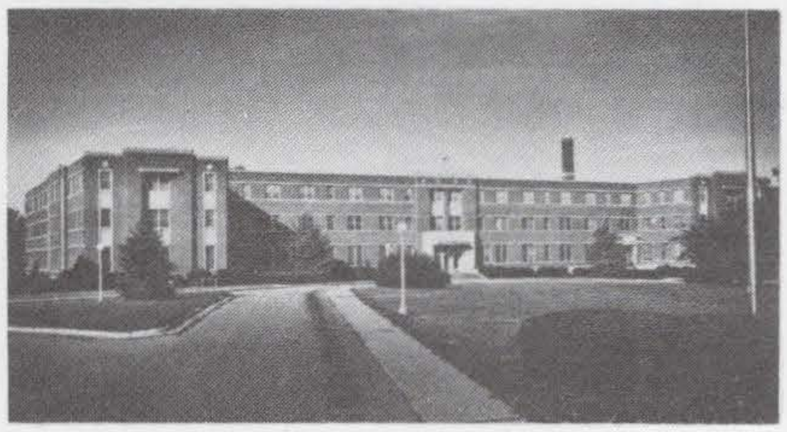

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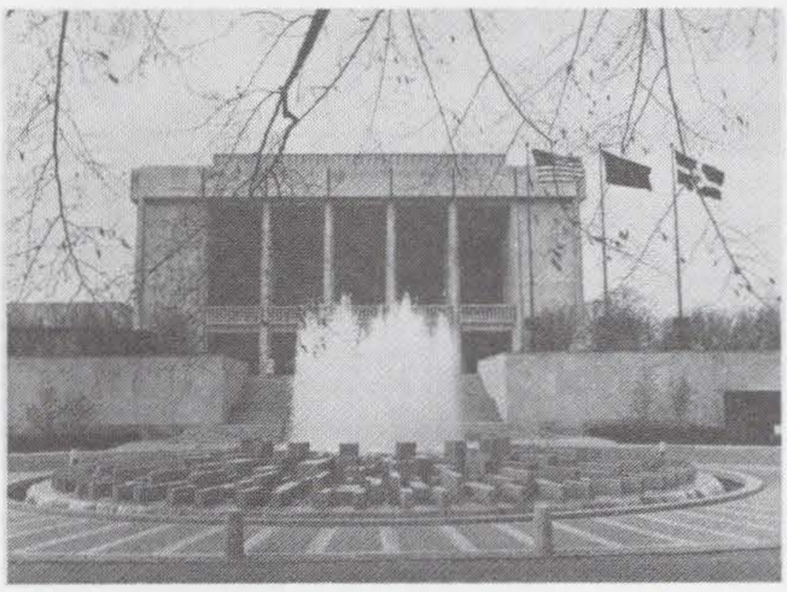

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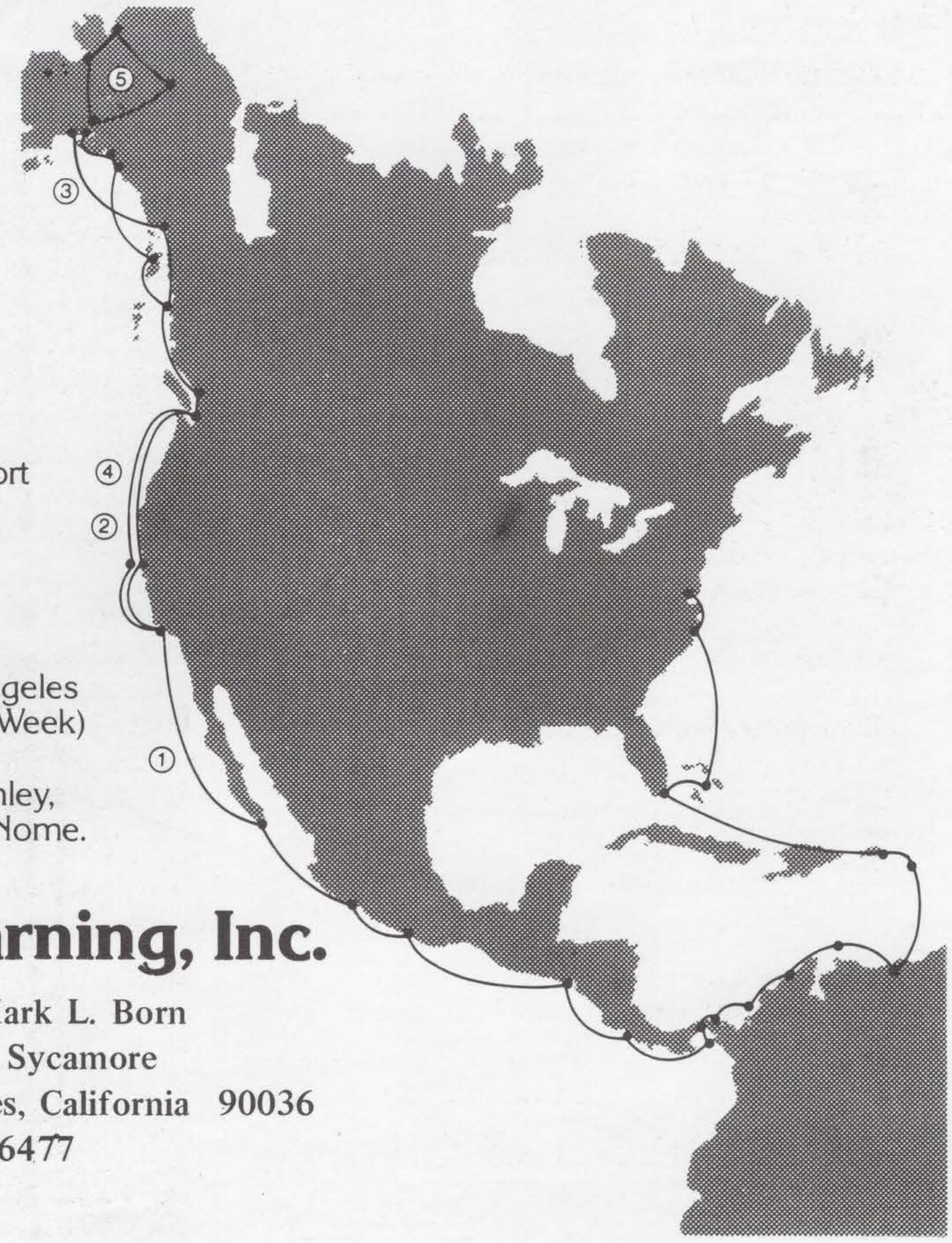

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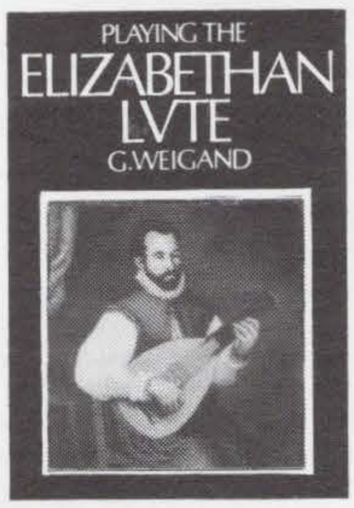

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